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INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

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By

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(Chairman Rozelle:—I have the pleasure now to introduce to you one whom you all know, Eugene V. Debs.)

There is inspiration in your greeting and my heart opens wide to receive it. I have come a thousand miles to join with you in fanning the flames of the proletarian revolution. (Applause).

Your presence here makes this a vitalizing atmosphere for a labor agitator. I can feel my stature increasing, and this means that you are growing, for all my strength is drawn from you, and without you I am nothing.

In capitalist society you are the lower class; the capitalists are the upper class—because they are on your backs; if they were not on your backs, they could not be above you. (Applause and laughter).

Standing in your presence, I can see in your gleaming eyes and in your glowing faces the vanguard; I can hear the tramp, I can feel the thrill of the social revolution. The working class are waking up. (A voice, "you bet"). They are beginning to understand that their economic interests are identical, that they must unite and act together economically and politically and in every other way; that only by united action can they overthrow the capitalist system and emancipate themselves from wage-slavery. (Applause).

I have said that in capitalist society the working class are the lower class; they have always been the lower class. In the ancient world for thousands of years they were abject slaves; in the Middle Ages, serfs; in modern times, wage-workers; to become free men in socialism is the next inevitable phase in our civilization. (Applause). The working class have struggled through all the various phases of their development, and they are to-day engaged in the last stage of the animal struggle for existence; and when the present revolution has run its course, the working class will stand forth the sovereigns of this earth.

In capitalist society the working man is not, in fact, a man at all; as a wage-worker, he is simply merchandise; he is bought in the open market the same as hair, hides, salt, or any other form of merchandise. The very terminology of the capitalist system proves that he is not a man in any sense of that term.

When the capitalist needs you as a working man to operate his machine, he does not advertise, he does not call for men, but for "hands"; and when you see a placard posted "Fifty hands wanted," you stop on the instant; you know that that means YOU, and you take a bee-line for the bureau of employment to offer yourself, in evidence of the fact that you are a "hand." When the capitalist advertises for hands, that is what he wants. He would be insulted if you were to call him a "hand." He has his capitalist politician tell you, when your vote is wanted, that you ought to be very proud of your hands because they are horny; and if that is true, he ought to be ashamed of him. (Laughter and applause).

What is your status in society to-day? You are a human being, a wage-worker. Here you stand just as you were created, and you have two hands that represent your labor power; but you do not work and why not?—For this simple reason, that you have no tools with which to work; you cannot compete against the machinery of the capitalist with your bare hands; you cannot work unless you have access to it, and you can only secure access to it by selling your labor power, that is to say your energy, your vitality, your life itself, to the capitalist who owns the tool with which you work, and without which you are idle and suffer all of the ills that idleness entails.

In the evolution of capitalism, society has been divided mainly into two economic classes: a relatively small class of capitalists who own tools in the form of great machines they did not make and cannot use, and a great body of many millions of workers who did make these tools and who do use them, and whose very lives depend upon them, yet who do not own them; and these millions of wage-workers, producers of wealth, are forced into the labor market, in competition with each other, disposing of their labor power to the capitalist class, in consideration of just enough of what they produce to keep them in working order. They are exploited of the greater share of what their labor produces, so that while, upon the one hand, they can produce in great abundance, upon the other, they can consume but that share of the product that their meagre wage will buy; and every now and then it follows that they have produced more than can be consumed in the present system, and then they are displaced by the very products of their own labor; the mills and shops and mines and quarries in which they are employed, close down, the tools are locked up and they are locked out, and they find themselves idle and helpless in the shadow of the very abundance their labor has created. There is no hope for them in this system. They are beginning to realize this fact, and so they are beginning to organize themselves; they are no longer relying upon some one else to emancipate them, but they are making up their minds to depend upon themselves and to organize for their own emancipation.

Too long have the workers of the world waited for some Moses to lead them out of bondage. He has not come; he never will come. I would not lead you out if I could; for if you could be led out, you could be led back again. (Applause). I would have you make up your minds that there is nothing that you cannot do for yourselves. You do not need the capitalist. He could not exist an instant without you. You would just begin to live without him. (Laughter and prolonged applause). You do everything and he has everything; and some of you imagine that if it were not for him you would have no work. As a matter of fact, he does not employ you at all; you employ him to take from you what you produce, and he faithfully sticks to his task.

If you can stand it, he can; and if you don't change this relation, I am sure he won't. You make the automobile, he rides in it. If it were not for you, he would walk; and if it were not for him, you would ride.

The capitalist politician tells you on occasion that you are the salt of the earth; and if you are, you had better begin by salting down the capitalist class.

The revolutionary movement of the working class will date from the year 1905, from the organization of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. (Prolonged applause). Economic solidarity is to-day the supreme need of the working class. The old form of unionism has long since fulfilled its mission and outlived its usefulness, and the hour has struck for a change.

The old unionism is organized upon the basis of the identity of interests of the capitalist and working classes. It spends its time and energy trying to harmonize these two essentially antagonistic classes; and so this unionism has at its head a harmonizing board called the Civic Federation. This federation consists of three parts; a part representing the capitalist class; a part supposed to represent the working class, and still another part that is said to represent the "public." The capitalists are represented by that great union labor champion, August Belmont. (Laughter and hisses). The working class is represented by Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor (hisses and cry "sick him,") and the public, by Grover Cleveland. (Laughter).

Can you imagine a fox and goose peace congress? Just fancy such a meeting, the goose lifting its wings in benediction, and the fox whispering "Let us prey."

The Civic Federation has been organized for the one purpose of prolonging the age-long sleep of the working class. Their supreme purpose is to keep you from waking up. (A voice: "They can't do it.")

The Industrial Workers has been organized for an opposite purpose, and its representatives come in your presence to tell you that there can be no peace between you, the working class, and the capitalist class who exploit you of what you produce; that as workers, you have economic interests apart from and opposed to their interests, and that you must organize by and for yourselves; and that if you are intelligent enough to understand these interests, you will sever your relations with the old unions in which you are divided and sub-divided, and join the Industrial Workers, in which all are organized and united upon the basis of the class struggle. (Applause).

The Industrial Workers is organized, not to conciliate, but to fight the capitalist class. We have no object in concealing any part of our mission; we would have it perfectly understood. We deny that there is anything in common between workingmen and capitalists. We insist that workingmen must organize to get rid of capitalists and make themselves the masters of the tools with which they work, freely employ themselves, secure to themselves all they produce, and enjoy to the full the fruit of their labor. (Applause).

The old union movement is not only organized upon the basis of the identity of interests of the exploited and exploiting classes, but it divides instead of uniting the workers, and there are thousands of unions, more or less in conflict, used against one another; and so long as these countless unions occupy the field, there will be no substantial unity of the working class. (Applause).

And here let me say that the most zealous supporter of the old union is the capitalist himself. August Belmont, president of the Civic Federation, takes special pride in declaring himself a "union man" (laughter); but he does not mean by that that he is an Industrial Worker, that is not the kind of a union he means. He means the impotent old union that Mr. Gompers and Mr. Mitchell lead, the kind that keeps the working class divided so that the capitalist system may be perpetuated indefinitely.

For thirty years I have been connected with the organized labor movement. I have long since been made to realize that the pure and simple union can do nothing for the working class; I have had some experience and know whereof I speak.

The craft union seeks to establish its own petty supremacy. Craft division is fatal to class unity. To organize along craft lines means to divide the working class and make it the prey of the capitalist class. The working class can only be unified efficiently along class lines; and so the Industrial Workers has been organized, not to isolate the crafts but to unite the whole working class. (Applause).

The working class has had considerable experience during the past few years. In every conflict between labor and capital, labor has been defeated. Take the leading strikes in their order, and you will find that, without a single exception, the organized workers have been defeated, and thousands upon thousands of them have lost their jobs, and many of them have become "scabs." Is there not something wrong with a unionism in which the workers are always worsted? Let me review hurriedly some of this history of the past few years.

I have seen the conductors on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, organized in a craft union, take the places of the striking union locomotive engineers on the same system.

I have seen the employees of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway, organized in their several craft unions, stand by the corporation as a unit, totally wiping out the union telegraphers, thirteen hundred of them losing their jobs.

I have seen these same craft unions, just a little while ago, on the Northern Pacific and Great Northern systems—I have seen them unite with the corporation to crush out the telegraphers' union, and defeat the strikers, their own co-unionists and fellow employees.

Just a few weeks ago, in the city of Chicago, the switchmen on the Grand Trunk went out on strike. All their fellow unionists remained at work and faithfully served the corporation until the switchmen were defeated, and now those union switchmen are scattered about looking for jobs.

The machinists were recently on strike in Chicago. They went out in a body under the direction of their craft union. Their fellow unionists all remained at work until the machinists were completely defeated, and now their organization in that city is on the verge of collapse.

There has been a ceaseless repetition of this form of scabbing of one craft union upon another until the working man, if his eyes are open, is bound to see that this kind of unionism is a curse and not a benefit to the working class.

The American Federation of Labor does not learn by ex-

perience. They recently held their annual convention, and they passed the same old stereotyped resolutions; they are going to petition Congress to restrict the power of the courts; that is to say, they are going to once more petition a capitalist Congress to restrict the power of capitalist courts. That is as if a flock of sheep were to petition a lot of wolves to extract their own fangs. They have passed these resolutions over and over again. They have been totally fruitless and they will continue to be.

What good came to the working class from this convention? Put your finger upon a single thing they did that will be of any real benefit to the workers of the country!

You have had some experience here in New York. You have plenty of unionism here, such as it is, yet there is not a city in the country in which the workers are less organized than they are here in New York. It was in March last that you had here an exhibition of pure and simple unionism. You saw about six thousand craft union men go out on strike, and you saw their fellow unionists remain at work loyally until all the strikers were defeated and sacrificed. Here you have an object lesson that is well calculated to set you thinking, and this is all I can hope to do by coming here, set you thinking, and for yourselves; for when you begin to think, you will soon begin to act for yourselves. You will then sever your relations with capitalist unions and capitalist parties (applause), and you will begin the real work of organizing your class, and that is what we of the Industrial Workers have engaged to do. We have a new mission. That mission is not merely the amelioration of the condition of the working class, but the complete emancipation of that class from slavery. (Applause).

The Industrial Workers is going to do all for the working class that can be done in the capitalist system, but while it is engaged in doing that, its revolutionary eye will be fixed upon the goal; and there will be a great difference between a strike of revolutionary workers and a strike of ignorant trade unionists who but vaguely understand what they want and do not know how to get that. (Applause).

The Industrial Workers is less than six months old, and already has a round hundred thousand of dues-paying members. (Applause). This splendid achievement has no parallel in the annals of organized labor. From every direction come the applications for charters and for organizers, and when the delegates of this revolutionary economic organization meet in the city of Chicago, next year, it will be the greatest convention that ever met in the United States in the interest of the working class. (Applause).

This organization has a world-wide mission; it makes its appeal directly to the working class. It asks no favors from capitalists.

No organization of working men has ever been so flagrantly misrepresented by the capitalist press as has been the Industrial Workers of the World; every delegate to the Chicago convention will bear testimony to this fact; and this is as it should be; the capitalist press is the mouthpiece of the capitalist class, and the very fact that the capitalist press is the organ, virtually, of the American Federation of Labor, is in itself sufficient to open the eyes of the working class.

If the American Federation of Labor were not in alliance with the capitalist class, the capitalist press would not pour its fulsome eulogy upon it.

This press has not one friendly word for the Industrial Workers, not one, and we do not expect it to have. These papers of the plutocrats know us and we know them (applause); between us there is no misunderstanding.

The workers of the country (the intelligent ones at least) readily see the difference between revolutionary and reactionary unionism, and that is why they are deserting the old and joining the new; that is why the Industrial Workers is building up so rapidly; that is why there is such a widespread demand for organizers and for literature and for all other means of building up this class-conscious economic organization. (Applause).

As I have said, the Industrial Workers begin by declaring that there is nothing in common between capitalists and wage-workers.

The capitalists own the tools they do not use, and the workers use the tools they do not own.

The capitalists, who own the tools that the working class use appropriate to themselves what the working class produce, and this accounts for the fact that a few capitalists become fabulously rich while the toiling millions remain in poverty, ignorance and dependence.

Let me make this point perfectly clear for the benefit of those who have not thought it out for themselves. Andrew Carnegie is a type of the capitalist class. He owns the tools with which steel is produced. These tools are used by many thousands of working men. Andrew Carnegie, who owns these tools, has absolutely nothing to do with the production of steel. He may be in Scotland, or where he will, the production of steel goes forward just the same. His mills at Pittsburgh, Duquesne and Homestead, where these tools are located, are thronged with thousands of tool-less wage-workers, who work day and night, in winter's cold and summer's heat, who endure all the privations and make all the sacrifices of health and limb and life, producing thousands upon thousands of tons of steel, yet not having an interest, even the slightest, in the product. Carnegie, who owns the tools, appropriates the product, and the workers, in exchange for their labor power, receive a wage that serves to keep them in producing order; and the more industrious they are, and the more they produce, the worse they are off; for the sooner they have produced more than Carnegie can get rid of in the markets, then the tool houses are shut down and the workers are locked out in the cold.

This is a beautiful arrangement for Mr. Carnegie; he does not want a change, and so he is in favor of the Civic Federation, and a leading member of it; and he is doing what he can to induce you to think that this ideal relation ought to be maintained forever.

Now, what is true of steel production is true of every other department of industrial activity; you belong to the millions who have no tools, who cannot work without selling your labor power, and when you sell that, you have got to deliver it in person; you cannot send it to the mill, you have got to carry it there; you are inseparable from your labor power.

You have got to go to the mill at 7 in the morning and work until 6 in the evening, producing, not for yourself, but for the capitalist who owns the tools you made and use, and without which you are almost as helpless as if you had no arms.

This fundamental fact in modern industry you must rec-

ognize, and you must organize upon the basis of this fact; you must appeal to your class to join the union that is the true expression of your economic interests, and this union must be large enough to embrace you all, and such is the Industrial Workers of the World.

Every man and every woman who works for wages is eligible to membership.

Organized into various departments, when you join you become a member of the department that represents your craft, or occupation, whatever it may be; and when you have a grievance, your department has supervision of it; and if you fail to adjust it in that department, you are not limited to your craft alone for support, but, if necessary, all the workers in all other departments will unite solidly in your defense to the very last. (Applause).

Take a plant in modern industry. The workers, under the old form of unionism, are parceled out to a score or more of unions. Craft division incites craft jealousy and so they are more or less in conflict with each other, and the employer constructively takes advantage of this fact, and that is why he favors pure and simple unionism.

It were better for the workers who wear craft fetters if they were not organized at all, for then they could and would spontaneously go out on strike together; but they cannot do this in craft unionism, for certain crafts bind themselves up in craft agreements, and after they have done this, they are at the mercy of the capitalist; and when their fellow unionists call upon them for aid, they make the very convenient excuse that they cannot help them, that they must preserve the sanctity of the contract they have made with the employer. This so-called contract is regarded as of vastly more importance than the jobs, aye, the very lives of the workingmen themselves.

We do not intend that certain departments shall so attach themselves to the capitalist employers. We purpose that the workers shall all be organized, and if there is any agreement, it will embrace them all; and if there is any violation of the agreement, in the case of a single employee, it at once becomes the concern of all. (Applause). That is unionism, industrial unionism, in which all of the workers, totally regardless of occupation, are united compactly within the one organization, so that at all times they can act together in the interests of all. It is upon this basis that the Industrial Workers of the World is organized. It is in this spirit and with this object in view that it makes its appeal to the working class.

Then, again, the revolutionary economic organization has a new and important function which has never once been thought of in the old union, for the simple reason that the old union intends that the wage system shall endure forever.

The Industrial Workers declares that the workers must make themselves the masters of the tools with which they work; and so a very important function of this new union is to teach the workers, or, rather, have them teach themselves the necessity of fitting themselves to take charge of the industries in which they are employed when they are wrested, as they will be, from their capitalist masters. (Applause).

So when you join the Industrial Workers you feel the thrill of a new aspiration; you are no longer a blind, dumb wage-slave. You begin to understand your true and vital relation to your fellow-workers. In the Industrial Workers you are co-related to all other workers in the plant, and thus you develop the embryonic structure of the co-operative commonwealth. (Applause).

The old unionism would have you contented. We Industrial Workers are doing what we can to increase your discontent. We would have you rise in revolt against wage-slavery. The working man who is contented to-day is truly a pitiable object. (Applause).

Victor Hugo once said: "Think of a smile in chains,"—that is a working man who, under the influence of the Civic Federation, is satisfied with his lot; he is glad he has a master, has some one to serve; for, in his ignorance, he imagines that he is dependent upon the master.

The Industrial Workers is appealing to the working class to develop their latent powers and above all, their capacity for clear thinking.

You are a working man and you have a brain and if you do not use it in your own interests, you are guilty of high treason to your manhood. (Applause).

It is for the very reason that you do not use your brain in your interests that you are compelled to deform your body in the interests of your master.

I have already said that the capitalist is on your back; he furnishes the mouth, you the hands; he consumes, you produce. That is why he runs largely to stomach and you to hands. (Laughter).

I would not be a capitalist; I would be a man; you cannot be both at the same time. (Applause).

The capitalist exists by exploitation, lives out of the labor, that is to say the life, of the working man; consumes him, and his code of morals and standard of ethics justify it and this proves that capitalism is cannibalism. (Applause).

A man, honest, just, high-minded, would scorn to live out of the sweat and sorrow of his fellow man—by preying upon his weaker brother.

We propose to destroy the capitalist and save the man. (Applause). We want a system in which the worker shall get what he produces and the capitalist shall produce what he gets. (Applause). That is a square deal.

The prevailing lack of unity implies the lack of class consciousness. The workers do not yet understand that they are engaged in a class struggle, that they must unite their class and get on the right side of that struggle economically, politically and in every other way—(applause), strike together, vote together and, if necessary, fight together. (Prolonged applause).

The capitalist and the leader of the pure and simple union do what they can to wipe out the class lines; they do not want you to recognize the class struggle; they contrive to keep you divided, and as long as you are divided, you will remain where you are, robbed and helpless.

When you unite and act together, the world is yours. (Prolonged applause).

The fabled Samson, shorn of his locks, the secret of his power, was the sport and prey of the pygmies that tormented him. The modern working class, shorn of their tools, the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO).

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INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE.)

secret of their power, are at the mercy of a small class who exploit them of what they produce and then hold them in contempt because of their slavery.

No master ever had the slightest respect for his slave any more than any slave ever had the least real love for his master. Between these two classes there is an irrepressible conflict, and we Industrial Workers are pointing it out that you may see it, that you may get on the right side of it, that you may get together and emancipate yourselves from every form of servitude.

It can be done in no other way; but a bit of sober reasoning will convince you workers of this fact.

It is so simple that a child can see it. Why can't you? You can if you will think for yourselves and see for yourselves. But you will not do this if you were taught in the old union school; you will still look to someone else to lead that you may follow; for you are trained to follow the blind leaders of the blind. You have been betrayed over and over again, and there will be no change until you make up your minds to think and see and act for yourselves.

I would not have you blindly walk into the Industrial Workers; if I had sufficient influence or power to draw you into it, I would not do it. I would have you stay where you are until you can see your way clear to join it of your own accord. It is your organization; it is composed of your class; it is committed to the interests of your class; it is going to fight for your class, for your whole class, and continue the fight until your class is emancipated. (Applause.)

There is a great deal of opposition to this organization. The whole capitalist class and all their labor lieutenants are against it (applause); and there is an army of them, and all their names are on the pay-roll and expense account. They all hold salaried positions, and are looking out for themselves.

When the working class unite, there will be a lot of jobless labor leaders. (Applause.)

In many of these craft unions they have it so arranged that the rank and file do not count for any more than if they were so many sheep. In the railroad organizations, for instance, if the whole membership vote to go out on strike, they cannot budge without the official sanction of the Grand Chief. His word outweighs that of the entire membership. In the light of this extraordinary fact, is it strange that the workers are often betrayed? Is it strange that they continue at the mercy of their exploiters?

Haven't they had quite enough of this? Isn't it time for them to take an inventory of their own resources?

If you are a working man, suppose you look yourself over, just once; take an inventory of your mental stock and see what you have. Do not accept my word; do not depend upon anybody but yourself. Think it out for yourself; and if you do, I am quite certain that you will join the organization that represents your class (applause); the organization that has room for all your class; the organization that appeals to you to develop your own brain, to rely upon yourself and be a man among men. And that is what the working class have to do, cultivate self-reliance and think and act for themselves; and that is what they are stimulated to do in the Industrial Workers.

We have great hope and abiding faith for we know that each day will bring us increasing numbers, influence and power; and this notwithstanding all the opposition that can be arrayed against us.

We know that the principles of the Industrial Workers are right and that its ultimate triumph is assured beyond the question of a doubt; and if you believe in its conquering mission, then we ask you to be true enough to yourselves and your class to join it; and when you join it you will have a duty to perform and that duty will be to go out among the unorganized and bring them into the ranks and help in this great work of education and organization, without which the working class is doomed to continued ignorance and slavery.

Carl Marx, the profound economic philosopher, who will be known in future as the great emancipator, uttered the inspiring shibboleth a half century ago: "Workingmen of all countries unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

You workers are the only class essential to society; all others can be spared, but without you society would perish. You produce the wealth, you support government, you create and conserve civilization. You ought to be, can be and will be the masters of the earth. (Great applause.)

Why should you be dependent upon a capitalist? Why should this capitalist own a tool he cannot use? And why should not you own the tool you have to use?

Every cog in every wheel that revolves everywhere has been made by the working class, and is set and kept in operation by the working class; and if the working class can make and operate this marvelous wealth-producing machinery, they can also develop the intelligence to make themselves the masters of this machinery (applause), and operate it not to turn out millionaires, but to produce wealth in abundance for themselves.

You cannot afford to be contented with your lot; you have a brain to develop and a manhood to sustain. You ought to have some aspiration to be free.

Suppose you do have a job, and that you can get enough to eat and clothes enough to cover your body, and a place to sleep; you but exist upon the animal plane; your very life is suspended by a slender thread; you don't know what hour a machine may be invented to displace you, or you may offend your economic master, and your job is gone. You go to work early in the morning and you work all day; you go to your lodging at night, tired; you throw your exhausted body upon a bed of straw to recuperate enough to go back to the factory and repeat the same dull operation the next day, and the next, and so on and on to the dreary end; and in some respects you are not so well off as was the chattel slave. He had no fear of losing his job; he was not black-listed; he had food and clothing and shelter; and now and then, seized with a desire for freedom, he tried to run away from his master. You do not try to run away from yours. He doesn't have to hire a policeman to keep an eye on you. When you run, it is in the opposite direction, when the bell rings or the whistle blows.

You are as much subject to the command of the capitalist as if you were his property under the law. You have got to go to his factory because you have got to work; he is the master of your job, and you cannot work without his consent, and he only gives this on condition that you surrender to him all you produce except what is necessary to keep you in running order.

The machine you work with has to be oiled; you have to be fed; the wage is your lubricant, it keeps you in working order, and so you toil and sweat and groan and reproduce yourself in the form of labor power, and then you pass away like a silk worm that spins its task and dies.

That is your lot in the capitalist system and you have no right to aspire to rise above the dead level of wage-slavery.

It is true that one in ten thousand may escape from his class and become a millionaire; he is the rare exception that proves the rule. The wage-workers remain in the working class, and they never can become anything else in the capitalist system. They produce and perish, and their exploited bones mingle with the dust.

Every few years there is a panic, industrial paralysis, and hundreds of thousands of workers are flung into the streets; no work, no wages; and so they throng the highways in search of employment that cannot be found; they become vagrants, tramps, outcasts, criminals. It is in this way that the human being degenerates, and that crime graduates in the capitalist system, all the way from petty larceny to homicide.

The working millions who produce the wealth have little or nothing to show for it. There is widespread ignorance among them; industrial and social conditions prevail that defy all language properly to describe. The working class consists of a mass of human beings, men, women and children, in enforced competition with one another, in all of the circling hours of the day and night, for the sale of their labor power, and in the severity of the competition the wage sinks gradually until it touches the point of subsistence.

In this struggle more than five millions of women are engaged and about two millions of children, and the number of child laborers is steadily increasing, for in this system profit is important, while life has no value. It is not a question of male labor, or female labor, or child labor; it is simply a question of cheap labor without reference to the effect upon the working class; the woman is employed in preference to the man and the child in preference to the woman; and so we have millions of children, who, in their early, tender years, are seized in the iron-clutch of capitalism, when they ought to be upon the playground, or at school; when they ought to be in the sunlight, when they ought to have wholesome food and enjoy the fresh atmosphere they are forced into the industrial dungeons and there they are riveted to the machines; they feed the insatiable monsters and become as living cogs in the revolving wheels. They are literally fed to industry to produce profits. They are dwarfed and deformed, mentally, morally and physically; they have no chance in life; they are the victims of the industrial system that the Industrial Workers is organized to abolish, in the interest, not only of the working class, but in the higher interest of all humanity. (Applause.)

If there is a crime that should bring to the callous cheek of capitalist society the crimson of shame, it is the unspeakable crime of child slavery; the millions of babes that fester in the sweat shops, are the slaves of the wheel, and cry out in their agony, but are not heard in the din and roar of our industrial infernalism.

Take that great army of workers, called coal miners, organized in a craft union that does nothing for them; that seeks to make them contented with their lot. These miners are at the very foundation of industry and without their labor every wheel would cease to revolve as if by the decree of some industrial Jehovah. (Applause.) There are 600,000 of these slaves whose labor makes possible the firesides of the world, while their own loved ones shiver in the cold. I know something of the conditions under which they toil and despair and perish. I have taken time enough to descend to the

depths of these pits, that Dante never saw, or he might have improved upon his masterpiece. I have stood over these slaves and I have heard the echo of their picks, which sounded to me like muffled drums throbbing funeral marches to the grave, and I have said to myself, in the capitalist system, these wretches are simply following their own hearses to the potter's field. In all of the horizon of the future there is no star that sheds a ray of hope for them.

Then I have followed them from the depths of these black holes, over to the edge of the camp, not to the home, they have no home; but to a hut that is owned by the corporation that owns them, and here I have seen the wife,—Victor Hugo once said that the wife of a slave is not a wife at all; she is simply a female that gives birth to young—I have seen this wife standing in the doorway, after trying all day long to make a ten-cent piece do the service of a half-dollar, and she was ill-humored; this could not be otherwise, for love and abject poverty do not dwell beneath the same roof. Here there is no paper upon the wall and no carpet upon the floor; there is not a picture to appeal to the eye; there is no statue to challenge the soul, no strain of inspiring music to touch and quicken what Lincoln called the better angels of human nature. Here there is haggard poverty and want. And in this atmosphere the children of the future are being reared, many thousands of them, under conditions that make it morally certain that they will become paupers, or criminals, or both.

Man is the product, the expression of his environment. Show me a majestic tree that towers aloft, that challenges the admiration of man, or a beautiful rose-bud that, under the influence of sunshine and shower, bursts into bloom and fills the common air with its fragrance; these are possible only because the soil and climate are adapted to their growth and culture. Transfer this flower from the sunlight and the atmosphere to a cellar filled with noxious gases, and it withers and dies. The same law applies to human beings; the industrial soil and the social climate must be adapted to the development of men and women, and then society will cease producing (cry of "down with capitalism") the multiplied thousands of deformities that to-day are a rebuke to our much vaunted civilization, and, above all, an impeachment of the capitalist system. (Applause.)

What is true of the miners is true in a greater or less degree of all workers in all other departments of industrial activity. This system has about fulfilled its historic mission; upon every hand there are the unerring signs of change, and the time has come for the organization of the working class to pave the way for this change. Education and organization of the working class for the social revolution (applause) that is to lift the workers from the depths of slavery and elevate them to an exalted plane of equality and fraternity. (Applause.)

At the beginning of industrial society men worked with hand tools; a boy could learn a trade, make himself the master of the simple tools with which he worked, and employ himself and enjoy what he produced; but that simple tool of a century ago has become a mammoth social instrument; in a word, that tool has been socialized. Not only this, but production has been socialized. As small a commodity as a pin or a pen, or a match involves for its production all of the social labor of the land; but this evolution is not yet complete; the tool has been socialized, production has been socialized, and now ownership must also be socialized; in other words, those great social instruments that are used in modern industry for the production of wealth, those great social agencies that are socially made and socially used, must also be socially owned. (Applause.)

The Industrial Workers is the only economic organization that makes this declaration, that states this fact and is organized upon this foundation, that the workers must own their tools and employ themselves. This involves a revolution, and this means the end of the capitalist system, and the rearing of a working class republic (prolonged applause), the first real republic the world has ever known; and it is coming just as certainly as I stand in your presence.

You can hasten it, or you can retard it, but you cannot prevent it.

This the working class can achieve, and if you are in that class and you do not believe it, it is because of your ignorance, it is because you got your education in the school of pure and simple unionism, or in a capitalist political party. This the working class can achieve and all that is required is that the working class shall be educated, that they shall unite, that they shall act together.

The capitalist politician and the labor lieutenant have always contrived to keep the working class divided, upon the economic field and upon the political field; and the workers have made no progress, and never will until they desert those false leaders and unite beneath the revolutionary standard of the Industrial Workers of the World. (Applause.)

The capitalists have the mills and the tools and the dollars, but you are an overwhelming majority; you have the men, you have the votes. There are not enough of them to continue this system an instant; it can only be continued by your consent and with your approval, and to the extent that you give it you are responsible for your slavery; and if you have your eyes opened, if you understand where you properly belong, it is still a fortunate thing for you that you cannot

do anything for yourself until you have opened the eyes of those that are yet in darkness. (Applause.)

Now, there are many workers who have had their eyes opened and they are giving their time and energy to the revolutionary education of the working class (applause), and every day sees our minority increasing, and it is but a question of time until this minority will be converted into the triumphant majority (applause); and so we wait and watch and work in all of the circling hours of the day and night.

We have just begun here in New York; and with a vim and an energy unknown in the circles of unionism. In six months from this night you will find that there is a very formidable organization of Industrial Workers in New York (applause); and if you are a working man and you have convictions of your own, then it is your duty to join this union and take your place where you belong.

Don't hesitate because somebody else is falling back. Don't wait because somebody else is not yet ready. Act and act now and for yourself; and if you happen to be the only Industrial Worker in your shop, or in your immediate vicinity, you are simply monumental of the ignorance of your fellow-workers, and you have got to begin to educate them. For a little while they may point you out with the finger of contempt, but you can stand this, you can bear it with patience; if they persecute you, because you are true to yourself, your latent powers will be developed, you will become stronger than you now dream, and then you will do the deeds that live and you will write your name where it will stay.

Never mind what others may say, or think, or do. Stand erect in the majesty of your manhood.

Listen for just once to the throbbing of your own heart, and you will hear that it is beating quick-step marches to Camp Freedom.

Stand erect! Lift your bowed form from the earth! The dust has long enough borne the impress of your knees.

Stand up and see how long a shadow you cast in the sunlight! (Applause.) Hold up your head and avow your convictions, and then accept, as becomes a man, the consequences of your acts!

We need you and you need us. We have got to have the workers united, and you have got to help us in the work. And so we make our appeal to you to-night, and we know that you will not fail. You can arrive at no other conclusion; you are bound to join the industrial workers, and become a missionary in the field of industrial unionism. You will then feel the ecstasy of a new-born aspiration. You will do your very best. You will wear the badge of the Industrial Workers, and you will wear it with pride and joy.

The very contempt that it invites will be a compliment to you; in truth, a tribute to your manhood.

Go out into the field and bring in the rest of the workers, that they may be fully equipped for their great mission. We will wrest what we can, step by step, from the capitalists, but with our eye fixed upon the goal; we will press forward, keeping step together with the inspiring music of the new emancipation; and when we have enough of this kind of organization, as Brother De Leon said so happily the other day (applause), when we are lined up in battle array, and the capitalists try to lock us out, we will turn the tables on the gentlemen and lock them out. (Applause.)

We can run the mills without them but they cannot run them without us. (Applause.)

It is a very important thing to develop the economic power, to have a sound economic organization. This has been the inherent weakness in the labor movement of the United States. We need, and sorely need, a revolutionary economic organization. We must develop this kind of strength; it is the kind that we will have occasion to use in due time, and it is the kind that will not fail us when the crisis comes. So we shall organize and continue to organize the political field; and I am of those that believe that the day is near at hand when we shall have one great revolutionary economic organization of the working class and one great revolutionary political party of the working class. (Cheers and prolonged applause.) Then will proceed with increased impetus the work of education and organization that will culminate in emancipation.

This great body will sweep into power and seize the reins of government; take possession of industry in the name of the working class, and it can be easily done. All that will be required will be to transfer the title from the parasites to the producers; and then the working class, in control of industry, will operate it for the benefit of all. The work day will be reduced in proportion to the progress of invention. Every man will work, or at least have a chance to work, and get the full equivalent of what he produces. He will work, not as a slave, but as a free man, and he will express himself in his work and work with joy. Then the badge of labor will be the only badge of aristocracy. The industrial dungeon will become a temple of science. The working class will be free, and all humanity disenthralled.

The workers are the saviours of society (applause); the redeemers of the race; and when they have fulfilled their great historic mission, men and women can walk the highlands and enjoy the vision of a land without masters and without slaves, a land regenerated and resplendent in the triumph of Freedom and Civilization. (Long, continued applause.)

The Miners' Magazine



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"The great mass, upon whose shoulders rest the stability of this Nation, have been lulled to sleep, and while they slept, in the belief that human liberty was safe, a silken thread was woven, which to-day has become a mighty cable which the power of a Hercules or a Samson cannot break."

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SECTION CALENDAR.

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.)

Kings County General Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop Avenue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section Headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room, No. 280 Jessie street. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open every evening. All workmen invited.

Business meetings every Tuesday.

Section Providence, R. I., 77 Dyer st., room 8. Every Tuesday night at 8, voted to lectures. Science class Wednesday nights. 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

Section Indianapolis. Meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month, at 29½ South Delaware street, third floor.

Detroit, Mich., "Socialist Labor Auxiliary" Reading Room, room 10 avenue Theatre Bldg., Woodward avenue. Open every evening, Sunday all day. Discussion upon interesting topics every Sunday.

Section Chicago, Ill., meets second and fourth Tuesday in the month 8 p. m. at 155 E. Randolph st. 3rd floor. Front avenue.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2:30 P. M.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, 8 p. m., at Smith's Hall, 21st and Franklin ave., 3rd floor.

Spokane, Wash., Socialist Labor Party Headquarters, Free Reading Room, 217 Front avenue.

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Orders for supplies must be accompanied by cash, Article XI, Section 17, of the constitution expressly forbidding the keeping of credit accounts. It should be noted that orders for organization supplies must be addressed to the undersigned and not, as is often the case, to the Labor News.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

The Industrial Worker

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JULY 10, 1905.

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PROSPERITY AND SAVINGS BANKS

The below letter, received at this office, is here literally reproduced, underlining and all:

New York, Jan. 1, 1906.

Editor in Chief:

I noticed a column in your paper this morning headed "prosperity" wherein you mention the misfortune of a FEW PEOPLE. If you want to find out REAL PROSPERITY look at the DEPOSITS in the Savings Banks of N. Y. City, or in fact of the whole U. S., and you will find said deposits have been INCREASING for the last 10 YEARS. The INTEREST paid in deposits in the U. S. for the year 1905 will amount to more than the money deposited in the years 1898-1899-1894.

As the WORKING PEOPLE are the THIEF DEPOSITORS in the Savings Banks of the U. S. you can see that your argument has no BOTTOM to work on.

I am SURPRISED that you started the new year by making an ass of yourself.

I consider your paper more of a FIRE-BRAND than the N. Y. Journal.

Respectfully

Horace Walters,
329 West 29th Str.
N. Y. City.

We shall pass by the elegance of the language used by Mr. Walters, and grapple with the gentleman's preposterous reasoning and his still more preposterous allegations of fact.

Mr. Walters reasons that, seeing the Savings Banks deposits have steadily increased until they are now very large, therefore, (1) the workingmen are more prosperous. So have palaces, silk and satin robes, \$25,000 ladies' garters, Bradley Martin, Hyde and Wanamaker dinners, automobiles, country villas, steam yachts—these and all such other articles have increased hugely in number, yet who would dare maintain that, therefore, the workingman enjoys or is in possession of any of them? The point made but to be indicated in order to be obvious: Scatter-brained is the reasoning that concludes, from the mere existence of good things that the workingman has them, or any share in them. That much, and it is quite enough, for Mr. Walters' reasoning, in the abstract; his allegations in the concrete will be found to hold as little water.

The gentleman makes the concrete assertion that the working people are the thief depositors in the Savings Banks of the land. The Census figures on wage earners engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, together with the reports of the Comptroller of the Currency, disprove the claim.

Taking the group of States made up by Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, and the Western State of Wisconsin, it is found that—

In Pennsylvania, the number of depositors is 420,945; the number of wage earners is 733,334—or 312,389 wage earners in excess of depositors.

In Ohio, the number of depositors is 22,636; the number of wage earners is 345,000—or 322,364 wage earners in excess of depositors.

In Indiana, the number of depositors is 24,112; the number of wage earners is 125,000—or 100,888 wage earners in excess of depositors.

In Wisconsin, the number of depositors is 4,703; the number of wage earners is 142,976—or 138,273 wage earners in excess of depositors.

The following table will present the facts in condensed form:

Number of wage earners engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Wisconsin 1,377,735
Number of depositors in the same group of States 544,485

Excess of wage earners over depositors 833,250

The figures furnished by this group of States alone materially shake Mr. Walters' contention of working people's prosperity, to begin with. Even supposing that, without exception, every single depositor in this group of States is a wage earner engaged in manufacturing or mechanical industries, and even supposing that every "deposit" is made by a different "depositor," even then less than one half of the number of these wage earners are within the charmed circle of Savings Banks prosperity. If Savings Banks deposits are an evidence of prosperity, obviously the majority of these presumably best paid wage earners are short in prosperity, and the much larger number of wage earners engaged in notoriously worse paid occupations are wholly out in the cold.

Another group of States will emphasize the point and also dispose of Mr. Walters' claim that "the working people are the chief depositors" in our Savings Banks.

In the State of New York, the number of depositors in Savings Banks is 2,400,000; the number of above-named wage earners is 240,000—or 1,667,000

more depositors than wage earners, an excess of nearly twice as many.

In Massachusetts, the number of depositors is 1,723,015; the number of wage earners is 497,448—or 1,225,567 more depositors than wage earners, an excess of almost three times as many.

In Connecticut, the number of depositors is 461,387; the number of wage earners is 176,804—or 284,583 more depositors than wage earners, an excess of nearly twice as many.

In New Hampshire, the number of depositors is 461,387; the number of wage earners is 70,410—or 390,977 more depositors than wage earners, an excess more than equal their number.

In Vermont, the number of depositors is 139,833; the number of wage earners is 29,455—or 110,378 more depositors than wage earners, an excess of nearly four times as many.

In Maine, the number of depositors is 211,217; the number of wage earners is 74,816—or 136,401 more depositors than wage earners, an excess of close on five times as many.

Dropping the group of New England States and New York, in all of which the conditions are found to be substantially the same, and taking a leap across the Mississippi, in Iowa, the number of depositors is 241,020; the number of wage earners is 58,553—or 182,467 more depositors than wage earners, an excess of more than three times as many.

The following table will afford a bird's eye view of the facts herein gathered:

Number of depositors in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine and Iowa..... 4,243,108
Number of wage earners engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries in the same States 1,756,441

Excess of depositors over wage earners 2,486,667

This set of figures supplements the first. Even again supposing the obviously unsupportable that, without exception, every single wage earner belonging to this leading group of industrial States, and engaged in the presumably best paid occupations, the manufacturing and mechanical industries, is a depositor, even then there remains unaccounted for a number of depositors almost twice as large. That the excess is not made up of the poorer paid labor the first set of figures sufficiently indicates. Of what class is the excess made up? The answer is obvious; obvious also is the fact that the discrepancy between working people depositors and non-working people depositors is much larger than our assumption would make it appear. Nevertheless, should there be any doubt left upon the subject, no less a personage than J. Harsen Rhoades, the President of the Greenwich Savings Bank of this city removes the doubt. In the article written by him this time last year in the Financial Supplement of "The Times," this expert on the subject makes the following admission: "The huge deposit in the Savings Banks of Greater New York indicates a suspension of development in business and the holding of money for the time being, as well as a disposition to use the banks for investment on good interest," and again he alludes to "the constant and increasing pressure on the part of that portion of the public, WELL ABLE TO TAKE CARE OF THEIR OWN PROPERTY, to open accounts with the Savings Banks." Is it working people who "hold money for the time being" before launching into business? Is it working people who are "well able to take care of their own property"?

The figures and President Rhoades tally. The bulk of the working class has no deposits in Savings Banks; the working people are not the "chief depositors"; who the chief depositors are is confirmed by the periodical reports about ladies in carriages and furs riding up to our Savings Banks to make deposits or draw their interests. The workingman has a hard enough time of it to make the two ends meet with his paltry wage. What with declining earnings and rising prices for rent and the shoddy and other adulterated goods that he must buy, nothing is left for him to save. The Savings Banks are the middle class banks, also banks for not a few who are above the middle class. The large amount of deposits, consequently, is no evidence of the workingman's prosperity. Originally, the Savings Bank was the "workingman's bank". It is no more. To-day, the oft-repeated claim that the large Savings Banks deposits are an evidence and measure of working people prosperity is a myth that knives have invented, and none but fools repeat.

We might here dismiss Mr. Walters, together with his "reasoning" and his "facts." But not yet. The gentleman's letter came enclosed in a wrapper of the Diamond Match Co. The Census figures show that the wages of the wage earners in this industry do not average quite \$1 a day—they average \$301.25 a year. Pursuing his peculiar logic Mr.

Walters no doubt reasons that the \$6,005,937, which the Census gives as the value of the matches produced in 1900, is the evidence and measure of the prosperity of the unfortunate men and women at work in that poisonous industry. He may as well. Furthermore, seeing that Mr. Edwin Gould is a director in the Diamond Match Co., it is to be presumed, upon the Walterian line of reasoning, that Mr. Gould's pocket, into which big chunks of those \$6,005,937, drawn from the match industry, flow are in the nature of a match-makers' Savings Banks, and the money a monument of the men's prosperity.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with January 13, the following contributions were received to the above fund:

John M. Howard, Brooklyn, N. Y. \$ 1.00
Section South Hudson, N. J. 2.00
Branch 11 2.00
George Scheer, Danbury, Conn. 2.00
Per A. Gillhaus, Organizer—F. Weber, Wilkinsburg, Pa., 25c.; A. Weber, Wilkinsburg, Pa., 25c.; J. Molison, Allegheny, Pa., 50c.; A. Clever, Braddock, Pa., \$2 3.00
F. W. Ball, Paterson, N. J. 100.00
Frank Willard, Lander, Wyo. 1.00
Paul, Brooklyn, N. Y. 2.00
Walter Williams, Detroit, Mich. 1.00
J. Johnson, Petersburg, Alaska 2.00
S. J. Nelson, Grand Rapids, Minn. 1.00

Total \$ 115.00
Previously acknowledged ... \$2,072.48

Grand total \$2,187.48

Note:—In the issue of the Weekly People of December 30, Frank Willard, Lander, Wyo., was credited with \$2. This was a typographical error; the figure should have been \$1. But the total then given was correct, the error being purely typographical and not affecting the footing up of the column.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS' FUND.

Received during the week ending with Saturday, January 13, the following contributions:

Gen. Abelson, New York \$ 1.50
A. Clayman, Syracuse, N. Y. 50
Geo. Scheer, Danbury, Conn. 2.00
Harford, Conn.—F. Waronig, \$1; A. Holland, \$1; F. Gayer, 50c.; F. Knotek (day's wages), \$3 5.50
Longshoremen's Prog. Union, Branch 1, Hoboken, N. J. 10.00
K. Georgewitsch, Schenectady, N. Y. 75
Walter R. Searfield, N. Y. 50
So. Norwalk, Conn., per E. Singewald, as follows: "Friend of the Czar," \$1; Karl Lukash, \$1; Josef Jaitchak, \$1; Elmore Frisiero, \$1; John Sass, \$1; J. Zarbois, 50c.; E. Bennett, 25c.; J. Redway, 50c.; H. Christiansen, 50c.; C. J. Christiansen, 50c.; A. De-cassere, 25c.; Cash, 25c.; M. Spahr, \$1 9.75
Collected by "H," Local 67, I. W. W., Jersey City, N. J. 2.50
M. Engel, San Francisco, Cal. 2.00
Frank Willard, Lander, Wyo. 1.00
Henry S. Coulson, Spokane, Wash. 1.00
Emil Broedel, Brooklyn, N. Y. 50
Antonio Petricione, 28th A. D., New York 1.00
L. Abelson, 28th A. D., N. Y. 1.00
E. B., Detroit, Mich. (day's wages) 3.00
Minneapolis, Minn.—John and Gus. Lidberg, \$1 each 2.00
F. H., College Point, N. Y. 1.00
Part proceeds of entertainment and fair arranged by Brooklyn Ladies' Auxiliary 19.00
S. J. Nelson, Grand Rapids, Minn. 2.00
Thos. Weidling, Portsmouth, Va. 2.00
Bushman, Pa.—Chas. Larson, \$1; Al Ayers, \$1; C. J. Har-strom, 50c.; Fred Tate, 50c. 3.00
Robert Randall, Lamartine, Colo. 3.00

Total \$74.00

Previously acknowledged \$528.49

Grand total \$602.49

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

SPECIAL FUND.

Previously acknowledged \$10,558.03
Br. E. Sec. South Hudson, N. J. 5.00
D. Foster, S. Burgettstown, Pa. 23
"Reader," Indianapolis, Ind. 5.00
F. DuMastro, New Haven, Ct. 2.50
F. Hauser, Gloversville, N. Y. 50
C. Olmstead, New York City 50.00
F. Olmstead, Bklyn., N. Y. 1.00
B. Jensen, Bull Frog, Nev. 1.00

Total \$10,623.08

The New York Labor News Company

is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party and publishes nothing but sound Socialist literature.

WHAT IS "A PURE AND SIMPLE" LABOR ORGANIZATION

By Charles H. Corrigan.

Syracuse, Dec. 30, 1905.—From the fact that a proposition has been presented to the Party defining a "pure and simple" union, it might be inferred that there has been in the past a vagueness or indefiniteness about the term, and its synonyms, "old," "old style," "British" and "Gompers-style." A careful perusal of the literature, press and convention proceedings of the party, conclusively shows, however, that there was no vagueness in the minds of the members as to the meaning of the phrase; that it clearly and unmistakably stood for a certain form of labor organization; and that the definition now presented for adoption is not the definition held in the past.

The origin of the phrase gives a clear insight into its meaning. It was coined in the mouth of Gompers himself. In 1890, about fifty trade and labor unions seceded from the New York Central Labor Union, on account of the political hoodlums of the leaders of that body, and secured a charter from the American Federation of Labor as the Central Federation of New York City. Later, upon the promise of the Knights of Labor, who controlled the Central Labor Union, that hoodlums would cease, the Federation rejoined. Trouble broke out again shortly after and the Federation resumed its sessions, three representatives from the Socialist Labor Party being accepted as delegates. As the A. F. of L. charter had been sent back, application was made to Gompers for its return, or the issuance of a new charter. Gompers refused, because of the admission of the S. L. P. delegates, claiming that the A. F. of L. was "purely and simply" an economic organization. The Central Federation thereupon elected a delegate to the annual convention of the A. F. of L. at Detroit to force the issue, on the ground that the S. L. P. was not a political party like the Republican and Democratic parties, but was controlled by wage workers, and that it organized trade unions. The question of seating their delegate was referred to a special committee which reported that the could not recommend the seating of delegates from one political party without admitting others and upheld Gompers in refusing a charter to the Central Federation, on the ground that by harboring delegates from a political party the organization had forfeited its right to a charter from the A. F. of L.

Section Detroit, S. L. P., arranged a mass meeting to give the Central Federation delegate an opportunity of presenting his side of the issue. A resolution was adopted endorsing the position of the Federation and "recognizing the necessity of merging into a comprehensive movement, the economic and political forces of labor, upon the ground that political power is indispensable to the accomplishment of the object contemplated by the labor movement." The Central Federation continued to exist without its A. F. of L. charter, and the S. L. P. delegates retained their seats in that body. It was the forerunner of a new style labor organization, recognizing the necessity of combined political and economic action, as opposed to the economic organization, "purely and simply," as imported from the B. Iales and represented by the A. F. of L.

In 1895, when the Central Federation united with District 49, K. of L., and the United Hebrew Trades, in launching the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, it brought into the new organization its peculiar feature of S. L. P. representation. At the party convention in 1896, it was shown that, not only were party delegates admitted to their district alliances and their general convention, but that their officers could belong to no political party but the S. L. P. In return, the Party admitted S. T. & L. A. delegates to its national convention.

No new definition was necessary to take the S. T. & L. A. out of the category of "pure and simple" unions; no possible broadening of the meaning could ever make that term embrace it in its folds. It harbored the representatives of a political party within its ranks; a political party welcomed its delegates at its conventions.

How is it with the I. W. W.? It is an organization declaredly "without affiliation with any political party." No delegate of a party sits in its councils, its representatives occupy no place in the conventions of party. Therefore, we must adopt a new definition for a well understood phrase. As well adopt a new definition of dog in order to take the lady's lap-dog out of the same category with the homeless yellow cur. Changing definitions will not take the I. W. W. out of the classification. The change can be brought about only within the organization itself. It must conform to the requirements which excluded the Central Federation from the ranks of the A. F. of L.

There was a time when the A. F. of L. and the K. of L. commanded as untiring service of the members of the S. L. P. in their up-building, as the I. W.

W. does to-day. Even Gompers himself, in those old days, declared he was a Socialist, and jollied our members into the belief that the trade union movement was coming our way. His closing remarks at the Detroit convention is a sample of the taffy dealt in. He assured the Socialists that "he was not personally antagonistic to the movement; that its every hope and desire—the objects and the ideal it strove for—found a complete and hearty response in his mind and heart; that whatever difference there might be was one of method—not of principle." And then he gracefully let the Central Federation delegate out. If the A. F. of L. has degenerated, it is because of weaknesses inherent in economic organizations, pure and simple. An economic organization adjusts itself to the economic necessities of its members. As the opportunities for employment become scarcer with the progress of capitalism, the competition for jobs, which is the struggle for existence among the wage workers, compels them to adjust themselves and the organizations which safeguard those jobs to the changed conditions. Within the A. F. of L. we have seen this change taking place within the past score of years. With its initial cry of "organize, organize, organize," a hollow mockery upon its life, we have seen it adopt the guild system of feudalism, and now, with the keener struggle for jobs, descending to the "dog eat dog," "everyone for himself" policy of savagery, as shown in the jurisdictional fights and craft against craft struggles which enter the field of labor with wrecks. The S. T. & L. A. alone was an exception to this degeneracy. It advanced in principle from the day it was organized, taking higher and higher ground at each annual convention. It did this, because it was dominated and controlled by a political organization. A political party of the workers takes its stand in an atmosphere above the petty competition for jobs. Its members adjust their organizations, not to their economic necessities, but to their economic possibilities. The economic organization is ruled by the stomach; the political organization is governed by the head. As the economic possibilities become clearer and clearer with the development of capitalism, the political party advances, as did the S. L. P., and in that advance it forced the S. T. & L. A. along with it. Will the I. W. W., "without political affiliation," prove an exception, and contradict our experiences in the past?

Nothing foreshadows the workings of that non-political affiliation clause, than the action of the Chicago convention itself. When the resolution debaring militiamen from membership was up for action, an amendment was made, adding politicians who accepted nominations from capitalist parties. A plea was made for the Democrats of the Western Federation of Miners in Montana. Delegate Haggerty of Butte, however, claimed that if there had ever been any necessity for the workers going in with the Democrats, that necessity had passed, and hoped the amendment would be adopted. Then the force of the non-political clause was shown. A point of order was made that, having adopted that clause, they could not exclude the candidates of any party. The chairman (Haywood, I think) ruled the point of order well taken. An appeal was taken from his decision, and the convention, by a large majority, sustained the ruling. The militiaman was debarred but the politician was admitted. This is straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. Between the militiaman and the politician give me the former. History is replete with instances showing that a citizen soldier can not be dependent upon to put down the aspirations of those from whose ranks they are drawn. Even now in Russia, the hope of the proletariat rests upon the decision of the soldiers. But can we point to a single politician who has proved false to those to whom he owed his nomination and election? What a weapon this decision of the Chicago convention will prove in the hands of a slick political fakir in the locals of the I. W. W.

But, it will be said, we can talk politics in these locals. There was a time when Socialist politics was not frowned down in the A. F. of L. Our members used to boast of the number of "Socialist" unions in the country. The fakirs cared as little, in those days, for the noise made by the Socialists as the hunter cares for the amount, variety or nature of the noises made by the beaters of the underbrush, for they helped to drive the game their way. That all changed with the formation of the S. T. & L. A., when the Socialist began to use their voices to keep the rank and file away from the fakirs.

As to selling an increased amount of literature, I would say that the Kanga boast of the enormous quantity of literature they dump on the pure and simple unions. The fakirs patronizingly take their benefit tickets contribute to their campaign funds subscribe for and support their press and boost them along

AUTHORIZED AGENTS FOR THE WEEKLY PEOPLE AND NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

Albuquerque, N. M.
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Los Angeles, Cal.
Louis C. Haller, 205 1/2 S. Main street.
Room 9.
Lynn, Mass.
Richard Murphy, 6 High street.
Meriden, Conn.
M. B. Seaman, 72 1/2 E. Main street.

generally. But has Socialism advanced? Cook books don't make good cookery. Literature amounts to nothing if the lessons of experience are unlearned. The Western Federation of Miners was the moving spirit in the formation of the I. W. W. The men at the head of it were wise enough to see that another Colorado meant annihilation. The hopelessness of their condition was not due to lack of industrial unity, for Haywood in his recent reply to Gompers, shows that all classes of labor about the mines were united. The bull pens, deportations, lawlessness, murders, was the result of leaving the political power in capitalist hands. Notwithstanding these facts, they went into the next election with the Democratic cry of "Anybody but Peabody," and then rushed to Chicago to launch an up-to-date economic organization "without affiliation with any political party." If the Colorado lesson had passed unlearned, then talk and literature is useless.

I find many of the reasons urged for the I. W. W. are the ones urged during our "boring from within" days in the A. F. of L., they are identical with those given by the Kanga to-day, in support of their position. Will our experiences now differ from that of the past?

I know that this letter sounds a note of discord; that my views are not in accord with those of a majority of the Party. But what the I. W. W. will become is a matter of conjecture, and in matters of conjecture there can be an honest difference of opinion. If I am in error, it will be a matter of small consequence. But suppose the majority is in error? Then the consequence will be incalculable.

[In connection with the above, read the editorial on Page V, entitled, "Pure and Simpledom."]

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

For the week ending January 13, we received 208 subscriptions to the Weekly People, and thirty-eight mail subscriptions to the Daily People, a total of 246. At this rate you will not add anything like 2,000 new readers to the Weekly People during January, which we have made every effort on our part to realize, but even yet, if every member of the Socialist Labor Party will send in one new subscriber, the feat will be accomplished. Now, don't wait for someone else to do it, but go out and get your reader. If you can get three yearlies, and you send them in at one time during the month, one dollar pays the bill. The roll of honor this week for five

Millford, Mass.:
David Craig, 36 Pine street.
Minneapolis, Minn.:
J. W. Johnson, 222 Nicolet ave. Room 2
Montreal, Can.:
Thos. McKimmie, 73 Vitre street.
New Bedford, Mass.:
Wm Yates, 6 Coffin ave. Court.
New Britain, Conn.:
John D. Carlson, 61 Fairview st.
New Haven, Conn.:
Clarence E. Warner, 617 Dixwell ave.
Newark, N. J.
H. Batman, 3 Somerset street.
Paterson, N. J.:
H. Galatian, 474 Union ave.
Pawtucket, R. I.:
Thos. Herrick, 458 Lonsdale ave.
Peoria, Ill.:
F. Lichtsinn, 301 Arago street.
Philadelphia, Pa.:
J. Erwin, 1604 W. Tiggs street.
Pittsburg, Pa.:
F. A. Uhl, 2128 Sarah street.
Providence, R. I.:
Everett I. Bowers, 36 Cass street.
Richmond, Va.:
J. E. Madison, 801 Nicholson street.
Rochester, N. Y.:
Chas. A. Ruby, 461 Clinton avenue, S.
Robert T. Wetsel, 67 Mt. Vernon avenue, rear.
Salem, Mass.:
T. L. Brennan, 4 Warren street.
San Antonio, Tex.:
Frank Leitner, 517 Wyoming street.
San Jose, Cal.:
Louis H. Zimner, 551 Martin avenue.
San Pedro, Cal.:
John Begovich, 370 Third street.
St. Paul, Minn.:
S. Johnson, 604 Jackson street.
St. Louis, Mo.:
Robert Kortum, 813 Chambers street.
Superior, Wis.:
John Henriksen, 1816 12th street.
Syracuse, N. Y.:
James Trainor, 14 Myers Block.
Tacoma, Wash.:
Chas. Martin, 3814 So. L street.
Toronto, Canada.
R. Roadhouse, 422 King St. E.
Tuolumne, Cal.:
J. B. Ferguson.
Utica, N. Y.:
Wm J. Wuest, 43 Erie st.
Vancouver, B. C.
B. Surges, 235 1/2 Princess street.
Winona, Minn.:
G. W. Campbell, 222 Chestnut street.
Worcester, Mass.:
W. J. Hoar, 2 Maple street.
Yonkers, N. Y.:
A. C. Rutstein.
Dublin, Ireland:
Wm. O'Brien, 35 Parliament street.

or more subscriptions is: Fred Brown, Cleveland, O., 15; F. J. Herrington, Pittsburg, Pa., 10; A. Gillhaus, Pittsburg, Pa., 7; J. Stirrup, Edwardsville, Ill., 7; C. H. Duncan, Spokane, Wash., 6; W. Kern, New Orleans, La., 6; F. H. Barber, Brooklyn, N. Y., 6; N. Roubound, Boston, Mass., 7; J. Lutkenhaus, New York city, 6; F. White, Schenectady, N. Y., 5; Section London, Ontario, 5.

Prepaid cards to the amount of \$2.50 were bought during the week.

At this writing we have orders for 21,100 extra copies of the issue of January 20. The paper will be in your hands in time for the January 22nd demonstration, so that you may make use of it at that time for agitation purpose.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Some pretty good orders this week. J. Billow, Chicago, four Sue books, Ed. Evans, Portland, Oregon, four Sue; H. Hall, Reno, Nev., four Sue; N. Ngro, Canal Dover, O., two Sue; J. Scheurer, New York, \$4 Sue and other books; H. A. Santee, New York, \$1.80 Sue and Woman; R. E. Mahoney, Mare Island, Cal., one Sue book; F. Steuermagel, Cincinnati, O., one Sue; J. E. Carlson, Preston, Wash., \$17 for books; Section Fall River, Mass., \$6.93 books; Geo. N. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa., \$4.30 books and pamphlets, Frank Bohn, Great Falls, Mont., \$2.65.

A. Gillhaus, Pittsburg, Pa., \$4.00 pamphlets; E. J. Shaw, Auburn, N. Y., \$2.86 pamphlets and books; B. Surges, Vancouver, B. C., \$2.10 pamphlets; Jos. Ball, Buffalo, N. Y., \$2.05 pamphlets; J. J. Frearson, Lestershire, N. Y., sixty cents pamphlets; J. McGarvey, Newburgh, N. Y., sixty-three cents pamphlets.

J. Marek, New Haven, Conn., 500 leaflets; W. G. Hoffmark, Sparks, Nev., 700 leaflets; I. W. W., Toronto, Can., 1,000 leaflets; W. Shurtleff, New York, \$1 leaflets; J. Kortan, fifty cents pamphlets. Besides these orders, which are more or less in the line of party literature, we do a considerable business in such books as Origin of Species, Descent of Man, Age of Reason, History of Conflict Between Religion and Science, Intellectual Development of Europe, etc., etc.

Make a note of the fact that per order of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee, on and after February 1 next, all pamphlets in quantities will be charged for at the rate of \$3.50 per 100, instead of \$3, as at present.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

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New York postoffice, July 23, 1900.

Owing to the limitations of this office,
correspondents are requested to keep a
copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1898.....	2,068
In 1899.....	21,157
In 1900.....	36,554
In 1901.....	34,191
In 1904.....	34,172

There standeth our ancient enemy;
Will he dare to battle with the free?
Spur along! spur along! charge to the
fight!

Charge! charge to the fight!
He is weak! we are strong: he a slave,
we are free;
Come along! we will dig their graves.
—Tennyson.

SALUTATORY.

"The Industrial Worker," monthly or-
gan of the I. W. W., has made its ap-
pearance.

It is in the nature of a magazine. It
contains a series of articles from differ-
ent writers, led by one from the pen of
Eugene V. Debs entitled "Industrial
Revolutionists"; editorial matter; corre-
spondence; a general report from the
President; much other matter of inter-
est, besides a rousing poem dedicated to
the new publication by Wm. R. Fox and
a story by Gertrude Bernal Hunt, while
the interstices are filled with sparkling
and aggressive paragraphs, with here and
there a blow from the shoulder in the
right direction.

The People welcomes on the arena
the young and promising fellow-com-
batant for the emancipation of the
Working Class.

INFANTICIDE AND "SAPHO."

On the 7th of this month infanticide,
though not by that name, was the gate
through which the Social Question was
entered upon at the New Rochelle Peo-
ple's Forum. The speaker was the Rev.
Owen R. Lovejoy.

The speaker laid a broad and solid
basis of facts upon which, however, he
proceeded to raise the most startling of
proposals. He correctly stated that the
employment of child labor was increasing
at an alarming rate. Ten years ago, he
said, there were only 28,000 children em-
ployed in all the industries in the South-
ern States, while the figures collected
from reliable sources show that there are
75,000 employed to-day in the cotton
industries alone. Altogether the Rev.
gentleman estimated the number of chil-
dren employed at manufacturing and
mining in the United States at two mil-
lions. Taking up another and kindred
line of equally undeniable facts, the Rev.
speaker pointed out that child labor
crowded men and women out of and re-
duced the wages of those who remained
at work; that the identical policy had,
during the past century, cut off the sta-
ture of the working people in the factory
districts of England at least two inches;
finally, he summed up his series of facts
saying: "We are spinning the lives of
our boys and girls into cotton or weaving
them out in glass factories and coal
mines. We are sacrificing them to the
great American idea of turning out the
largest output of goods at the least ex-
pense, without weighing the moral con-
sequences." We are making them into mere
machines instead of intelligent citizens."

Upon so broad and solid a basis of facts
one would expect an equally solid con-
clusion. The only conclusion in keeping
with the facts adduced, together with the
many more clearly implied, is the crying
need for the overthrow of what the
speaker euphemistically styles "the Great
American Idea," in fact the system of
refined cannibalism known as Capitalism.
But no. The conclusion arrived at is the
need of a "better regulation of child
labor" from above, coupled, from
below, on the part of "conscientious"
working people, with "hesitation at the
responsibility of bringing children into
the world." In other words, the conclu-
sion or remedy arrived at and proposed
by the Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy is—not the
ABOLITION of child labor—but its
REGULATION, like prostitution, with
infanticide as a helpmate to the
"regulation!"

The theory so rollickingly set up by
another minister, the genial Lawrence
Sterne, in his "Tristram Shandy" is
overthrown by the Rev. Owen R. Love-
joy, at least in part. The name given to
a man in his cradle is no protection to
him. "Tristram," to say nothing of the
"Shandy," may have been a blight upon
the man for life. But neither the "Owen"
—the name of the great forerunner of
Socialism—nor yet the "Lovejoy"—the
name of one of the most intrepid of the
Abolitionists—seems to have protected
the Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy against respec-

tatory folly. He is seen to-day in men-
tal company with the ministers of New
Haven, who, shocked at the immorality
that capitalism breeds, have protested—
against the cause and fountain-head of
national immorality? Bless your heart,
No!—have protested against the perfor-
mance on the public stage of "Sapho!"

The Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, together
with his New Haven fellow brothers of
the cloth, mean not to cleanse the house
of Society of the dirt that infests it;
they would only sweep the dirt of capi-
talism into corners. The times demand
sterner work—and sterner men to do it.

BITTER-SWEET.

The passage from the "Ny Tid" (New
Time), published last week in these col-
umns under "The Movement Abroad,"
must have been both bitter and sweet to
The People readers.

Bitter to the taste must have been the
fact that honored members of the Social
Democratic Party of Norway, men who could
be trusted by the organization to the
extent of being set up in their districts
as the standard bearers of Socialism, and
being elected to the national Legisla-
ture, should be found keeping step with
the bourgeois delegates, and voting for
a monarchy after the separation from
Sweden. Bourgeois republics offer the
working class no greater guarantee for
the product of their labor than does the
most "constitutional" of monarchies;
nevertheless, the theory upon which all
monarchy is founded is one that has
nothing in common with the Socialist
Republic, it is inherent to Socialism.
That members and political representa-
tives of an organization, that holds it-
self out as Socialist and is affiliated with
the International Socialist Movement
through the International Bureau at
Brussels, should deliberately cast their
votes for monarchy, reveals both green-
ness in the individual and culpable lax-
ness on the part of the organization it-
self. Socialism stands disgraced by the
Norwegian Socialist delegation in the
parliament of Norway.—This certainly,
is bitter enough.

Nevertheless the disgraceful incident
has furnished occasion for the Norwegian
Social Democratic paper, the "Ny Tid",
to give utterance to views that serve as
salve to the wound that has been in-
flicted. The "Ny Tid" seeks for the
cause of the worse than slip. It finds
the same in the circumstance that the
Socialist deputies in question "come from
districts WHERE THE MOVEMENT IS
DEPRIVED OF ONE OF ITS NECES-
SARY BASES—THE TRADES UNION
ORGANIZATION." There is, on the whole,
hope for the Socialist organization whose
organ so unerringly hits upon the
fundamental pre-requisite for a clean So-
cialist representation in the legislative
bodies of the capitalist class—revolution-
ary or CLASS CONSCIOUS UNIONISM.
Such an organization may misplace its
confidence in men; it may err in this,
that or the other; but it can not long
remain wrongly switched.—This is the
sweet to the bitter cup.

Where universal suffrage exists, the
Labor Movement is bound to assume its
political aspect. Where that political
aspect is assumed, the fate of the La-
bor Movement depends upon the sound-
ness or unsoundness of the economic
movement. Where the latter does not
exist, or is "pure and simple," the po-
litical movement goes to pot by becom-
ing the handmaid of the exploiter; it
joins the economic movement in fakir-
ism; where, however, the economic
movement is sound, the successful can-
didates of the political movement are
bound to "walk Spanish"—or the econ-
omic movement, the army of occupation,
will "know the reason why."

TRIUMPHANT SOCIALIST TRUTH.

One investigation of one set of capi-
talists, the insurance worthies, is not quite
done before what is virtually another
examination starts. This second exam-
ination is the hearing now taking place
before a special-commissioner in this city
in connection with the suit of the State
of Missouri against the so-called Waters-
Pierce Oil Companies—an alias of the
Standard Oil Company. The hearing has
hardly begun, and already the facts
brought out are juicy.

It is a common thing for the capi-
talist to deny the veracity of Socialist
contentions with what he calls facts.
In most instances the facts crumble as
soon as touched. There is, however, one
set of alleged facts, the disproval of
which is not always easy. It is the al-
legation that, instead of capital concen-
trating, it scatters and takes in an ever
larger number of thrifty "fearers of
God", industrious citizens, and law-abid-
ing patriots. In order to prove the al-
legation, the capitalist professors, poli-
ticians and pulpiterers are in the habit
of reading off long lists of concerns in
some industry in which the concerns
were formerly fewer. The proof is con-
sidered complete; the difficulty of as-
certaining the make-up of the concerns
affords the lie a chance. That it is a
lie economic science teaches, and condi-
tions, impossible if the lie were truth,
confirm. Nevertheless, so many are the
pudulous and so plausible is the theory
that long strings of concerns, located at

great distance from one another, must
be disconnected, that the imposing array
of the names of these concerns usually
carry people off their feet. People read-
ily succumb to the fascination of the
agreeable myths that capitalism sets on
foot, these myths ever being attractive
lures. Every little while, however, some-
thing happens to smash the myth. Such
a something is the hearing now going
on in the suit of the State of Missouri
to ascertain the actual status of an al-
leged independent concern that sails un-
der the name of Waters-Pierce Oil Com-
pany. The testimony has brought out
the fact that the Standard Oil Com-
pany has at least 15 aliases according to
the locality in which its several integral
parts are located. The aliases are:

Standard Oil Company of Ohio, Stan-
dard Oil Company of New Jersey, Standard
Oil Company of Indiana, Indiana Pipe
Line Company, Atlantic Refining Com-
pany, Solar Refining Company, Standard
Oil Company of Kentucky, Buck-Eye
Pipe Line Company, New York Transit
Company, National Transit Company,
Southern Pipe Line Company, Northern
Pipe Line Company, Eureka Pipe Line
Company, Forest Oil Company, Ohio Oil
Company, North-western Ohio Pipe Line
Company, and Southern Pennsylvania
Oil Company.

The seeming increase of firms under a
variety of names is meant to conceal
the fact of concentration, and also to
outwit the law. Like the criminal, who
has as many aliases as he has different
stamping grounds, capitalist concerns
sail under as many names as their crimi-
nal practices require them to assume.

Whatever else the hearing on behalf
of the State of Missouri may yet bring
out will be mere "velvet". The fish it
has so far landed is portly enough. Apart
from the lawlessness of the alleged "pil-
lar of law and order", the capitalist, so
far proven, the fact regarding the Stan-
dard Oil Trust's aliases is an ample set-
tler of the capitalist myth regarding the
"increase of new firms". Socialist Truth
once more triumphs.

Says ex-Gov. Peabody, in an interview
telegraphed from Denver, Col.:

"Steinberg's assassination was by the
Western Federation. It is nothing
more than any one expected who knew
the character of the officers of the Federa-
tion. They have a long list of crimes
to answer for to God, even if they have
evaded human law."

In delivering himself of this state-
ment, Peabody evidently proceeded on
the theory that the readers of it are
as devoid of the sense of justice as he
is. Without a bit of evidence, with
nothing but a hypocritical religious ref-
erence to back him up, Peabody makes
charges that decent men would refrain
from uttering—charges that are on their
face false and untenable.

Not only does Peabody seem to think
the readers of his interview as unjust
as he himself, but he also seems to think
they are as stupid. Says he:

"Every time a member of the Western
Federation attempts to re-establish his
home in Cripple Creek he receives a
visit from th whitecappers, and to-day
there are not a dozen in the camp."

What is this but a confession of law-
lessness on the part of the Mine Owners'
Association, in whose behalf Peabody
speaks? What does this show but that
the lawlessness reigning in the mining
camp of the West is the work of the
Mine Owners and their tools, the Pea-
bodies?

The Ex-Gov. has once again over-
stepped the bounds of decency and dis-
cretion. He has not only exposed his
lack of character but also his lack of
intelligence.

The following clipping has been for-
warded to this office:

"THE PRINCIPLE OF SOCIALISM.
To the Editor of The Wall Street Jour-
nal:

"Your editorials are generally extreme-
ly fair and frank, but in the next to the
next to the last paragraph of 'A Moral
Standard', in the issue of Dec. 25, it ap-
pears to me you are not quite fair to
the Socialists. How do you make out
that the purpose of Socialism is 'equal
division' of the property of the coun-
try? As I understand the Socialists, they
propose to stop division and use the
property undivided in the interest of all.
Again, how can a desire that all the
inhabitants of the country may share its
benefits equally be called a form of cov-
etousness? If so, is it not a use of the
word in a good sense?"

"Is it easy to conceive of a citizen
more highly moral and patriotic than
one who desires the welfare of all? How
can there be a 'square deal' unless it is
an equal deal?"

"Yours Truly,
"Kenwood, N. Y., Dec. 27.
"J. S. Freeman."

Evidently the day when even Wall
street can safely lie about Socialism is
passing. The growth of knowledge and
intelligence is daily rendering that less
possible.

The People is a good broom to brush
the cobwebs from the minds of the
workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

THE MOVEMENT ABROAD

Norwegian Workmen Turned Down by
"Beloved King"—Universal Suffrage
Question Agitating Germany
and Italy—Serbian Demon-
strations Head Off
Obnoxious Labor
Laws.

NORWAY.

A thousand unemployed men, sure that
the accession of a "national" king would
result in the betterment of their econ-
omic condition, repaired last month to
the palace and delivered themselves of
the following address:

"Beloved King! Succor us in our dis-
tress, and compel the authorities to give
us work; otherwise thousands of us will
perish of hunger."

The king, after thanking the delegates
for their confidence made answer to
them, "that, as a constitutional monarch,
he could only notify the Storting to
consider the question, and to bring all
its influence to bear on it."

The unemployed of Christiania had
previously made the same procession to
the palace of Oscar—with the same re-
sult.

GERMANY.

The government of Wilhelm, or rather,
of his "cousin" of Saxony, seems to
be aspiring to raise itself by dint of
courage—while staggering under defeat
—to the position of the Nero of modern
times. The demonstrations in favor of
universal suffrage, gave rise, in Dresden
and some other towns where they were
organized, to ugly brutalities by the po-
lice on the workmen. At Dresden,
in particular, the gendarmes, with drawn
sabres pursued the gatherings, danger-
ously wounding several paraders.

The local convention of the Social-
Democratic party of Alsace-Lorraine has
determined on the arrangement of a
series of demonstrations for the suffrage,
universal, equal, and direct, in the elec-
tion of the provincial councils.

ITALY.

The Party's Bureau has decided to
hold, in concert with the economic uni-
ons of the working class, a vast cam-
paign of agitation for the universal
suffrage. A resolution drawn up to that
effect met with the opposition of the
reactionary faction. One of these, Ri-
gola, declared that it contained too much
declaration of principles to be accepted
by the other parties. Turati reproached
him with wishing to cater to the mon-
archists. He then objected to the ad-
vocation of woman suffrage. The re-
solution was, however, adopted by a
majority vote.

SERBIA.

Details are coming in as to the demon-
strations arranged by the Party against
the new industrial laws contemplated by
the government. More than 10,000 work-
ingmen attended one of these demonstra-
tions, which after passing before the
town hall of Belgrade, paraded to the
Russian consulate, crying, "Down with
Absolutism! Hurrah for the Russian re-
volution!"

When they arrived at the Administra-
tion building, a delegation was sent to
appear before the president of the coun-
cil, and declare to him that "the orga-
nized working class will die in the strug-
gle, before it will allow itself to be de-
prived of the right to strike." The min-
ister promised to make an effort to
smooth over the differences between the
workmen and employers, so as to
"satisfy both parties." To this the work-
men replied that "such a thing could
never be done under the present system
of society." The immense demonstration
has, however, borne its fruits; the pro-
posed laws will not be presented to the
Parliament.

The following was found in the "Rail-
road News" of a daily business paper:

"In a carefully worded bulletin and
without touching upon the question of
higher wages or making other pecuniary
acknowledgment, General Manager At-
terbury has formally commended and
complimented employees of the Pennsylv-
ania for their work during the past
year."

How the Pennsy officials must have
laughed in their sleeves when they issued
that bulletin. It was only three weeks
ago that the newspapers were full of
"rumors of a 7 per cent. increase in the
wages of Pennsylvania employees." Now
the employees receive instead cautious
compliments that presage a wage-re-
duction or a lay-off.

The press is extolling the versatility
of a Dutch actor who successively essays
seven roles in one play. That's a mere
trifle. The capitalist class assumes a
greater number of parts than the tal-
ented foreigner; and with as little basis
of reality. It is a greater actor than the
Hollander.

From all appearances, "Prof." George
Guntton, otherwise known as Prof. Green
Goods, is determined to prove worthy of
his sobriquet.

PURE AND SIMPLEDOM

An article entitled "What is a 'Pure
and Simple' Labor Organization?" by
Comrade Charles H. Corrigan, and ar-
riving at the conclusion that the I. W.
W. is a Pure and Simple Union, will be
found in another column of this issue.
The comrade recognizes that his views
are not in accord with the majority of
the Party, but in a tone of apologetic
warning he asks, Suppose the majority
is in error? There is no apology needed.
Minorities often are right. Indeed, were
it not for minorities society would stand
stock still. The Revolutionary Fathers
were in the minority; the Abolitionists
were in the minority; the Socialist La-
bor Party itself is to-day but a trifling
minority of our people. The enlighten-
ment of the S. L. P. on this head com-
bines with its staunch democracy ever
to secure respectful hearing to and se-
rious consideration of minorities within
its ranks, without thereby disturbing,
but ever maintaining that self-imposed
discipline, or order, without which pro-
gress is out of question.

The discussion of what is pure and
simple Unionism is timely. The conten-
tion of the comrade that the I. W. W.
is a pure and simple Union is pivoted
upon the principle that the recognition
of the "necessity of combined political
and economic action" is the all-sufficient
point to consider in order to take a
Union "out of the category of 'pure and
simple' Unions."—The principle is false.

The geology, so to speak, of the Labor
Movement furnishes an abundance of
sparkling specimens upon which to es-
tablish correct theories on the subject
of "pure and simpledom." These speci-
mens disprove that the unity of politi-
cs and economics is in and of itself a
determining factor as to the quality,
the revolutionariness or the reactionar-
iness, the class-consciousness or the pure
and simpledom of a Union. Let us con-
template two of these specimens—the
Australian and the British Trades Un-
ion.

Both in Great Britain and in Austr-
alia there are Trades Union organizations
that recognize "the necessity of combined
political and economic action", in Great
Britain to a less general extent, in Aus-
tralia absolutely; in Great Britain, owing
to a recent decision of the Registrar,
commented upon in our "London Let-
ters", the Trades Union organizations
in question find themselves hampered
in their political activity, nevertheless
they have set up their own political
party, in Australia the Trades Unions
body operates unhampered on the po-
litical field. Accordingly, in Great Brit-
ain, under the name and style of "Labor
Representation Committee", in Australia
under the name and style of "Labor
Party", these Trades Unions enter the
political field, set up their own candi-
dates, and assert "the necessity of com-
bined political and economic action". Are
these Trades Unions not pure, and sim-
ple? None will deny they are. Their
program approves them such. Needless to
go into detailed proof. Short as the his-
tory of the British Trades Union politi-
cal party is, its record is ample; as to
the older Australian specimen, its
record is still ampler. Suffice it to con-
dense their principles and program. In
point of principle, they hold the capi-
talist system of society to be standard;
in point of program, they aim at "har-
monious relations between Capital and
Labor", they aim at establishing a per-
manent modus vivendi between the two.
—The acme of pure-simplicity!

Neither the recognition of the neces-
sity of political action, nor of economic
action, nor yet of "combined political
and economic action" is a determining
factor as to the quality of a Union. The
determining factor is the PURPOSE to
which such action—economic, political
or combined—is put, together with the
reasoning by which that purpose is de-
termined upon. It is this purpose, the
overthrow of the capitalist system, cou-
pled with the reasoning that harmony
between Capital and Labor is impossible,
that "took the S. T. & L. A. out of the
category of 'pure and simple' Unions".
The identical test does the same for the
I. W. W. The declaration in the Pre-
amble of the I. W. W. that "the working
class and the employing class have NO-
THING IN COMMON"; the conviction
expressed that "there can be NO PEACE"
so long as the iniquities born of capital-
ism continue; the conclusion that "be-
tween these two classes a struggle must
go on until THE TOILERS COME TO-
GETHER ON THE POLITICAL, AS
WELL AS ON THE INDUSTRIAL
FIELD, AND TAKE AND HOLD THAT
WHICH THEY PRODUCE BY THEIR
LABOR"—this process of reasoning, lead-
ing to the clearly expressed purpose of
the overthrow of capitalism, stamp the
I. W. W. a class-conscious revolution-
ary Union, and takes it bodily "out of
the category of 'pure and simple' Uni-
ons". These are facts. They are facts
that can not be overthrown. These facts
are so solid that they give no founda-
tion for the conclusion that the closing
clause of the sentence—"a struggle must
go on until all the toilers come together
on the political as well as on the in-

dustrial field, and take and hold that
which they produce by their labor
through an economic organization of the
working class WITHOUT AFFILIATION
WITH ANY POLITICAL PARTY"—is
"a non-political affiliation clause", in
the sense that the I. W. W. denies the
"necessity of combined political and econ-
omic action", or even ignores such nec-
essity. Such a construction of the clos-
ing clause, that we have underscored
above, is false construction—doubly so.
It is false construction in that it does
violence to the clause immediately pre-
ceding it, and which demands the unity
of the toilers "on the political as well
as the economic field" as a condition pre-
cedent for ending the class struggle; and
it is false construction in that it wrench-
es the clause out of its own context,
thereby depriving it of its deep sociol-
ogical sense—the fact that the political
organization can not "take and hold" the
plants of production, that the "taking
and holding" and immediate administra-
tion of the Nation's industrial powers
must be the work of economic organiza-
tion, ready to step in, or the "taking and
holding" will not be done at all. Nor
is the construction placed upon Hay-
wood's action, ruling out of order a pro-
posed amendment to bar from member-
ship men who accept nominations from
capitalist parties, and the action of the
convention sustaining the ruling, a cor-
rect interpretation of the occurrence.
The same ruling and action—after the
rapidly approaching day shall have come,
when only one party of Socialism shall
be known and acknowledged in the land
—would, indeed, bear out the comrade's
dark forebodings. By the light of the
surrounding conditions at the time of the
convention, the forebodings are unwar-
anted, however wise as a warning. The
S. T. & L. A. delegation objected to the
ruling, and voted against the chair. In
view, however, of existing conditions, it
desisted from then pushing the point
any further, and thereby precipitating a
clash on the S. L. P. and the S. P., with
the prospect of a smash-up—the very
thing that the pure and simple political
Socialists, in league with the Gompers-
ites, were making all possible manoeu-
vres to bring about. Class-conscious Un-
ionism had gained a foot-hold as it had
never had upon an actually national
basis in the land. Nor did the S. T.
& L. A. delegation think so poorly of its
own literature as to expect no better
fruits therefrom than the fruit that the
trashy literature, which flows from
Kangish and from pure and simple po-
litical Socialists, ripens.

The ship, that is nearing land, sees its
destination at first only in rough out-
lines; as it approaches, details, not per-
ceived before, and before unperceivable,
break upon its ken; not infrequently
clearer quarters even alter the perspec-
tive. Harmful orthodoxy would that be
on the part of the traveler who persisted
in the first impressions, made by the
first and still distant perspective. He
would "land abroad", in a land that has
no existence. He would immolate Es-
sence on the altar of Appearance. Com-
bined political and economic action is
not in and of itself the essence of class-
conscious Unionism; however that may
have seemed at one time, experience,
closer quarters, has rearranged the per-
spective. At one time mere economic
activity seemed the height of revolution;
experience has shown that economic ac-
tion may be a caricature of bourgeois-
ism; then it seemed that political and
economic action combined would fill the
bill; the specimens furnished by Aus-
tralia and Great Britain demonstrate
that the combination may be the tool of
rankst reactionarism. Schooled by ex-
perience, the essence of class-conscious
Unionism is found behind the external
means of economic and political action;
it is found to reside in the understand-
ing of the irrepressible nature of the
class struggle and the determination to
end it. "The correct manner, the 'how',
can not remain foreign to such a body.
In point of essence, accordingly, the I.
W. W. is not a "pure and simple" Uni-
on; in the important point of tactics,
the manner how to realize its ideal, the
I. W. W. is, to say the least, on the
highroad to perfection. Whether what-
ever further steps may yet be needed
will or will not be taken, depends upon
whether the most advanced elements to-
day in the Labor Movement will or will
not fortify the new body with their ex-
perience, their earnestness, their integ-
rity.

The General Electric Company's gift
of \$300,000 to the Institute of Electric
Engineers, is a case of philanthropy at a
profit. The company needs electrical en-
gineers in its business. This is the way
it gets them.

The capitalists who corrupt elections
are busy drafting corrupt practices bills.
Paradoxical! Not at all. Capitalism is
notoriously contradictory: its necessities
determine the fate of its ideals.

Watch the label on your paper. That
will tell you when your subscription ex-
pires. First number indicates the month,
second, the day, third the year.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONA-
THAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—You Social-
ists are all wrong!

UNCLE SAM—That played out yarn
again! What vital error have you
found now?

B. J.—You're barking up the wrong
tree; you're going the wrong way about
everything.

U. S.—Inasmuch as to which?

B. J.—Why, don't you see, you want
to rob the capitalists of their factories
and machinery. That's wrong. That's
just as wrong as for them to want to
rob the workers of too much of what
they produce. You'll never do anything
that way. The workmen will have to
get together with the capitalists and
form an agreement by which they will
each get a fair share. That's how to do
it.

U. S.—Let us see. You say we want
to rob the capitalists of "their" factories
and "their" machinery. How did those
factories and that machinery become
"theirs"?

B. J.—How? Why they bought them—
U. S.—With stolen money.

B. J.—I thought you'd start on that
tack. But let's leave out that ques-
tion for the present. Whether they got
these things honestly or not is another
matter. Let's grant for now that they
did get them honestly. At any rate, they
have them. Now by what right will you
steal their property from them? And
then, to declare that you will even use
arms to enforce your theft, if necessary,
—it's criminal, I say.

U. S.—Your position is that a man
who has property, granted that he got
it honestly, ought to be allowed to keep
it—

B. J. Exactly.

U. S.—Regardless of how he uses it.

B. J.—Yes. If he uses it wrong
let him be compelled by law to use
right, but let him keep it.

U. S.—And how, if in the very nature
of the property, it can not be used
rightly?

B. J.—Let's leave out that considera-
tion too, for now.

U. S.—Alright. Here we go, cavalry
and artillery, right through your posi-
tion.

B. J. braces himself.

U. S.—Jeff Davis and the Southern
plantation owning middle-class man he
represented, possessed slaves?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Acquired honestly, by purchase?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Frightfully maltreated, and
exploited by their owners to the last

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDES THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

LINING UP.

To the Daily and Weekly People—Local Bibles of the Socialist Party has lined up for the I. W. W.; and, in response to the enclosed resolutions passed by Section Bibles of the Socialist Labor Party, has appointed a committee to meet a like committee from Section Bibles of the S. L. P. to arrange for organizing a local of the I. W. W.

Yours fraternally,
Frank Lightfoot.

Blasbee, Ariz., Jan. 2.

(Enclosure.)

Resolutions passed by Section Bibles, S. L. P., on seeking the co-operation of Local Bibles, S. P., in organizing a local of the I. W. W.

Whereas, In a society divided into classes because of the ownership of the social means of production and the natural resources by the one class—the bourgeoisie—and the operation of the social means of production and distribution in the natural resources by the other class—the proletariat—it follows that the ultimate success of a revolutionary political party being a reflex of class economic interests, is determined according to whether the forces of economic evolution and revolution are bringing about economic conditions that make for the life and growth in numbers of that economic class and whether the class increasing in numbers and economic importance is class-conscious of its material interests—and has the organized economic might to enforce its political right; but,

Whereas, The capitalist class, the present ruling class, which through economic development has become a parasite on production and its extraction of surplus values from the workers by suppressing their uprisings on the industrial field, by such economic means as bogus labor unions, as typified by the A. F. of L., marshalled by such "labor lieutenants" as Gompers and Mitchell, who are tutored in that school of capitalist economics—the Civic Federation; and also by such political means as their government, viz., their courts issuing injunctions restraining striking workers from doing everything except going back to work at longer hours and shorter pay, and their executive officials, governors, mayors and presidents bull-penning, deporting and murdering with the militia rebellious wage slaves as a last resort to drive them back to work, it also follows that the capitalist class, being in possession of the government and administering the election machinery, will also attempt to suppress any uprising of the workers on the political field, either by counting out the workers' party at the ballot box, or by corruption and parliamentarianism, render harmless to their interests the acts of the elected representatives of Labor in their government, unless the workers be organized economically on the revolutionary lines of the class struggle in the I. W. W., wherein they will have the might of the strike to enforce the right of the ballot in case a capitalist government attempts to count their party out. And should Labor representatives sell them out by parliamentary moves to the representatives of Capital, and thus thwart and defeat labor measures, a revolutionary union could enforce the measure outside the capitalist parliament by a strike in the shop; and,

Whereas, From the foregoing, it follows that a political organization serves its best purpose as a means of propaganda and to register the rising revolutionary temperature of the working class; that it cannot represent the whole but only a part of the movement for the emancipation of Labor: that it may be as much by striking as by voting that a Workers' Republic may be established; that the capitalist class may have to be forcibly locked out of the industries of the land through a general strike before they can be peaceably voted out; and that a revolutionary political organization without the foundation or ballast of a revolutionary economic organization is like a house buttressed on sand, and without the discipline of the latter is a home for would-be leaders, intellectuals of the grafter brand and scheming middle-classers seeking to convert a revolutionary movement into one of reform and reaction in order that they may stay the day of their bankruptcy as a class; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section Bibles of the S. L. P. seek the co-operation of Local Bibles of the S. P. in organizing a local of the I. W. W. and that a special committee be appointed to present these resolutions and confer with Local Bibles S. P. to that end; and

Whereas, The real cause of the split between the Socialists of the United States pivoted upon the question of

supporting revolutionary unionism with the tactics implied in such endorsement; and

Whereas, The launching and growth of the I. W. W. has proved the wisdom and necessity of such an attitude on the part of the S. L. P. and has been the cause of clearing the atmosphere of the Socialist Movement of clouds of personalities and vilifications to the extent that all Socialists can now see clearly more of principles and less of individuals with an "ism" attached to their name; be it, therefore, furthermore

Resolved, That we meet each other with a spirit of letting past differences be forgotten to the end that all class-conscious revolutionary Socialists become united in one organization on the economic field and one organization on the political field and present a solid front to the capitalist class in battling for the making of the proletarian revolution.

Frank Lightfoot, Secretary.

FLOUNDERING AROUND.

To the Daily and Weekly People—The proposed public meeting of Socialists by the Chicago Socialist local at Fairview Turn Hall, took place on Sunday, Jan. 7. There was quite a number of Springfield, Chicopee and Holyoke Socialists present. E. A. Buckland, of Holyoke, was chosen chairman and Francis, of Chicopee, and Rutherford, of Holyoke, secretaries.

The subject under debate being: What position should a Socialist take towards the Trade Union Movement? M. Rutherford was called upon to state the position of the S. L. P. towards the question. He did so and made clear why every Socialist should endorse the I. W. W., concluding by stating that a lasting unity can only be established by choosing a correct basis of industrial unionism from which to conduct the political warfare for Socialism.

Wrenn, of Springfield, said he had no faith in the economic movement and held that it was only a side issue. Other speakers held that it was a waste of energy to bother with economic issues.

All speakers, however, agreed that the Federation of Labor was rotten and no good could be expected of it. Taking it all in all the Socialist party members showed a deplorable lack of understanding as to the relationship of economic and political power of the working class. They still cling to the delusion that a big pile of votes will do the trick of establishing Socialism in place of capitalism.

A motion was offered "That we do not endorse the I. W. W. and adjourn." The chairman put the question "That we now adjourn" leaving the non-endorsement out.

This was carried unanimously.

M. Rutherford, Secy.

A PROPOSITION.

To the Daily and Weekly People—Owing to the status of the revolutionary spirit of the working class of all stripes of socialistic thought I would respectfully submit the following: To take the men that stood in the extreme opposites one or two years ago, Debs, as late candidate for president for the S. P., Corregan, late candidate for president of the S. L. P., Trautmann, S. P., and De Leon, of the S. L. P.; Sherman, S. P., and Kinnely, of the S. L. P. Those men held opposite positions in the class movement. Now let them get together and give us their findings after careful consideration and just tell us what we want, with two sets of organs, two kinds of unions, two ballots and two sets of what we call principles. I would like to see such a conference and hope it will meet the approval of the working class. I would be pleased to hear from the comrades, and all the workers that are readers of our organ, The People, and would like the S. P. organs to take up this proposition and oblige, yours for the revolution,

E. R. Markley.

1030 Main St., Braddock, Pa.

(Respectfully submitted December 28, 1905. All Socialist papers please copy.)

AN ENCOURAGING REPORT.

To the Daily and Weekly People—Section Passaic Co., S. L. P., held its regular business meeting last Friday evening.

The business part will not interest the readers or members outside of this locality sufficiently to give a detailed report. Suffice it to say: New members were admitted; officers for ensuing term were installed; vote taken on amendment to constitution; season's lectures will begin on Sunday, January 21; January 22 demonstration bids fair to be large; attendance at both business and class meetings is considerably larger in

ratio to members than formerly.

Fraternally,

R. Berdan.

Paterson, N. J., January 8.

S. P. FLUSTERINGS IN CHICAGO.

To the Daily and Weekly People—Of all the freak things the Socialist party ever conceived, the boring committee recently organized here by them is the limit. This committee is headed by the famous (?) Charles Brekon, the ex-methodist shouter. This committee goes from one local to another of the I. W. W. in the interests of the Slowclists party. They try by every way in their power to dodge their party's attitude toward the I. W. W. They solicit subscriptions to the weekly yellow (the Chicago Socialist). In order to land the subs they stoop to anything. In one local they deny the autonomous organization of their party; in another they defend it; and in still another they claim that while their party is against the I. W. W., they personally are in favor of it. When called to account by the I. W. W. members for the New York "Workers' lies, they lay the blame on De Leon, saying the "Worker" told the truth and that The People, inspired by De Leon, was trying to disrupt organized labor. When taxed about the Berger case and the numerous compromises of their party they call them "People" lies. It is about the only answer they can give, it seems. However, no one pays any attention to them and they create a humorous feeling in the meetings. The Rev. Charlie is the county secretary here. It is a pity the boys of the I. W. W. have no respect for his feelings and laugh at him and in his face at his futile efforts.

The line-up on the basis of the class struggle is rapidly progressing here. In a short time Section Chicago, S. L. P., will be in the van, pointing the road to the poor deluded workers, now under the spell of "Praying Charlie" Brekon, Tommy-rot Morgan, and others of that stripe. The rank and file of the S. P. are beginning to ask questions of their leaders. Failing to receive answers makes them more persistent, and they are threatening a bolt. Morgan, Stedman, Brekon & Co., are doing all in their power to hold them in line but with poor success.

C. W. W.

Chicago, January 9.

YOUNG PEOPLE SHOW PROGRESS.

To the Daily and Weekly People—After several successful meetings of reading and discussion we are at last through with the "Communist Manifesto." The "Manifesto" was a kind of foundation for our future literary program, and as such it naturally met with slight obstacles. Some of our members, well posted upon the Socialist movement, found it a comparatively easy task, a "snap"; while others, not quite that far, discovered that a bit of thinking was not altogether out of place to comprehend Marx. However, we are now through, and we feel that there is "something accomplished, something done," something was performed with a great advantage to ourselves.

Our next text will be the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," by Frederick Engels. We hope that our work will now progress steadily till we shall attain our ultimate aim, viz: to furnish brave recruits for the fast approaching day when we shall have to array our brilliant host against the decaying forces of the enemy in the final battle for human emancipation.

Yours for the revolution,
Young People's Educational Club,
Isidore Zwick, Recording Secretary.
Cleveland, O., January 6.

Chicago, January 9.

THE FINISH OF THE JURISDICTIONAL JUNTA.

To the Daily and Weekly People—The more I read the Weekly People the more am I convinced that the disintegration and doom of trades unionism is at hand. By "trades unionism" I mean, of course, the kind exploited by that jurisdictional junta known as the American Federation of Labor. To my mind it has served its day and purpose. It is a far cry from El Paso to Pittsburgh but even at this distance we marked the farcical proceedings of the late lamented convention, presided over by the Fall-staffian Sammy Gompers.

Who, that ever saw Gompers, with his pale and puffy face, strut his brief half hour on a platform making one of his academic addresses to a body of half-starved workmen could be convinced of his sincerity? Not I, for one, and I yet have to find an honest member of a trades union who ever had faith in him. Even those who have been associated with him in his "cabinet" hate and detest him. But for all that they are not one whit better than Gompers and invariably stand with him in his scheming and conniving.

The cursed conservatism of Gompers and his crowd is responsible for the ever-increasing succession of trades units which with selfish eagerness to dominate this or that branch of a craft is rapidly leading to disruption and dissolution.

Everywhere I journey I find it the same. The Gompers system—the jurisdictional junta—must make way for a newer, a better, a more comprehensive order of things which shall make for cohesive—solidarity of ALL THE WORKERS in all crafts. An organization in which the various units which are now working at cross purposes may come together for the COMMON GOOD.

I am an old trade unionist and an out and out Socialist of long standing, but I feel that—nay, I am convinced—I must change front and join with the Industrial Workers of the World. I feel that I must not only join hands with Debs in his efforts to lead the toilers out of the labyrinthian lairs of capitalism but work with all my heart to rescue my toiling brothers from the doom which surely awaits them if they continue on their course in the piratical craft manned by Captain Gompers and his crew of buccaneers. If nothing else would impel me to take this course it would be the tyranny and injustice which obtains in every local of the old trades unions throughout the country. I could recite hundreds of cases, but shall be content to give here a glaring instance which concerns myself.

When I was in Tucson, Arizona, I was a member of Local 857, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, and also of the Socialist party of that city. I was not only an ardent agitator for the Socialist movement but a warm advocate for trades unionism as well. But what was my reward for my zeal and enthusiasm in the efforts I put forth for the uplifting of my fellowmen?

On the 15th of September, 1905, our local held its regular meeting. At this meeting a resolution was offered by R. Camacho, the financial secretary, who is a Mexican. The resolution concerned the celebration of Mexican Independence Day, which falls on September 16th, and the entire local was urged to knock off work and participate in the celebration. I was the only member present who had the courage to oppose the resolution offered by Camacho.

In my speech opposing the resolution I was called out of order by the chair and I subsided for the time. When the time came for the discussion of the "GOOD OF THE ORDER" I asked for the privilege of the floor, which was granted. I then stated my reasons for opposing the resolution. I said I was against the celebration of the so-called Mexican Independence Day because the Mexican working class had no independence, no civil rights or freedom of speech nor yet a voice in their government, and furthermore they were forbidden to organize as a body into a trades union. I asserted that the capitalist class had a monopoly of all the freedom, liberty and independence that existed in Mexico and that it would ill become our local to join in a festival which had no meaning nor significance for workmen, whether held on Mexican soil or in the United States. These and other sentiments I gave utterance to when I was howled down by the members and the chair peremptorily compelled me to stop.

When the meeting was over Camacho, the financial secretary, called me to his desk and put certain questions to me, which I answered in a civil, manly way. He was furiously angry and without a moment's warning hauled off and struck me a vicious blow in the face, and before I had time to recover followed this blow with several others. I succeeded in clinching with him, but at this juncture four of his cronies ran up and assisted Camacho. I was outnumbered and overpowered and was brutally beaten by the "brothers." Comrade A. G. Swanson came to my rescue and compelled the brutes to desist, but by this time I lay bleeding, bruised and unconscious on the floor of the lodge room. I had three of them arrested; not being able to ascertain the name of the fourth party to the assault. Camacho pleaded guilty and was fined \$15.00; the others were let go for the reason that no man in the local would appear as witness against them.

Now, mark the injustice and the baseness of this bunch of trades unionists. Charges were preferred against me in the local by one James Douglas. I was "tried," found guilty and ordered to pay a fine of \$15.00!!! I refused to pay the amount as I rightly deemed the action of the local under the circumstances unjustifiable, base and cowardly. I have been a member of the U. B. of C. nearly eight years and in all that time have been honorable and upright, loaning my tools and giving a helping hand to many brothers who had been down and out; I have always assisted in every way to advance the interests of our organization only to be rewarded by one of the most brutal assaults on record. For what reason? Just because, like a true Socialist, I had the courage to give expression to my convictions and TELL THE TRUTH.

Henceforth, I am for the I. W. W. and pledge myself to its support and principles. The old trade unionist has

fallen into a state of innocuous desuetude; the blight of graft and selfishness is in him and he grovels in the mire of Gompersism; he is as the sturdy oak denuded of its leaves; let him come into the folds of the I. W. W. and he will be reincarnated and soon will be blossom forth in vigor, power and beauty making for mankind and for the men who toil and spin a real world whose workshop shall be an asylum for the afflicted and down-trodden and not a SLAVE PEN.

Yours for the revolution,
John Szako.
El Paso, Texas, January 8.

CHARLES NICKERSON.

Information has been received by the members of the Thirty-fourth A. D., in this city, of the death of Comrade Charles Nickerson, formerly a valiant and active worker among the Bronx comrades. Comrade Nickerson passed away at the home of his brother, Alden Nickerson, at Jericho, Gove Co., Kansas.

The deceased comrade was for many years an indefatigable worker in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party in this city. Although in the prime of life, the scramble of existence under capitalist conditions made him a victim of the dread plague of consumption, and it was with the hope of arresting its progress and regaining his former vigor that he migrated to Kansas, too late, however, as he soon became aware. The certain near approach of death served but to increase the desire of this brave comrade to spread the propaganda of the S. L. P. as much as possible while he still had life, and he did good work in Jericho with the Weekly People and S. L. P. pamphlets and leaflets during the past year.

Comrade Nickerson passed away peacefully, his only regret being that he could not live to take part in the struggle of the revolutionary days he felt sure were rapidly approaching.

HOW TO JOIN THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

All persons desiring to attach themselves to the Socialist Labor Party, either by the formation of a local organization know as a "Section," or by joining as members at large, may proceed as follows:

1. Eight or more persons may form a "Section," provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., belong to no other political party and are not officers of a pure and simple trade or labor organization.

2. Isolated persons, unable to find seven others to join with them in organizing a "Section," but desiring to become members, may do so by becoming members at large upon signing an application card, subscribing thereon to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P. and answering other questions on said application card.

For application blanks to be used in the formation of "Sections" and for application cards for the use of individual members as well as all other information apply to the undersigned.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary,
2-6 New Reade street, New York City,
(Box 1576).

SECTION OFFICERS.

Section Hamilton, Ohio.—John E. Steiger, Organizer; J. H. Nordholt, Corresponding Secretary; A. Ivo, Financial Secretary; Frank Ferber, Treasurer; Joseph Feldman, Wm. Wurst, and Peter Ferber, Auditing Committee; B. J. Hilbert, Literary Agent.

ADDRESS WANTED.

Street and number of the address of B. Heide Co., Boston, is wanted by a Daily People reader. Boston readers are urged to send in same.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ORGANS.

Daily People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York; per year \$3.50
Weekly People, 2-6 New Reade st., New York; per year 50
Arbetaren (Swedish Weekly), 2-6 New Reade st., New York; per year 1.50
Der Arbeiter (Jewish Weekly), 2-6 New Reade st., New York; per year 50
Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung (German Weekly), 193 Columbus st., Cleveland, Ohio; per year 1.00
Nepakarat (Hungarian Weekly), 157 E. 4th st., New York; per year 1.50
Ragione Nuova (Italian Monthly), 22 Bond st., Providence, R. I. per year 25

He who comes in contact with workmen reading either of these languages should not fail to call attention to these papers and endeavor to secure subscriptions. Sample copies will be sent upon request. Address each paper as per address given above.

Henry Kuhn,
2-6 New Reade street, New York.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

B. L. ALBANY, N. Y.—Look at the Revd Lovejoys. Have not the reformers been pleading for reforms all these years? Do not they themselves admit that things are getting worse? The reformers, or something-now folks have no case. They would have a case if there was progress along their lines; however slight. It is time the reform twaddle ended. It only serves to sink the wheels of the Social Revolution ever deeper in the mire.

E. C. EAST CLEVELAND, O.—The place for the wage slave who holds a "privileged position," and, therefore, could not very well join the I. W. W., is to join the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party only. There he will find ample opportunity to utilize what time, experience and means he feels disposed to bestow upon the Labor Movement.

S. G. HAMILTON, ONT.—The author of the full-page article that appeared some time ago in The People giving Wayland's record was Julian Pierce, then a member of the S. L. P.

M. B. P. CHICOPPE FALLS, MASS.—The man who aims at the Socialist Commonwealth and yet honestly believes that Unionism is a side-show is a man upon the mechanism of whose mind facts fall like water on a duck's back. Such a man illustrates how there can be workmen, who, despite all the facts, honestly adhere to the capitalist politicians.

R. E. M. MARE ISLAND, CAL.—The Sue stories that we now have in book-form are: The Gold Sickle, the Infant's Skull and the Pilgrim's Shell. Three others—the Abatier Crozier, Carlovianing Coins and the Iron Trevel have appeared in the Daily People, but are not yet in book form.

M. J. C. MADISON, WIS.—In order to ascertain the share of labor many more things have to be considered than merely the value of the raw material and the wear and tear of the plant. There are a number of items that must be deducted from the wages nominally paid to the workman. The matter will be made the subject of a special theoretical article.

F. T. CHICAGO, ILL.—You are a funny dog. Formerly you blamed us for violence, now for mildness. 'Tis not the S. L. P. but conditions that have changed. When you beat against a gale you slant forward; the gale having blown over, you resume your straight gait. The S. L. P. is the same—with jaws set, mind clear, with sword drawn, scabbard thrown away, and conscious of fulfilling its mission triumphantly.

D. G. O. CHICAGO, ILL.—By what theory is the fact explainable that the number of enrolled members in political parties is trifling compared to the vote polled by the respective parties? Is this a transitory phenomenon? If so, why so? For what reason can enrolled and organized membership be expected eventually to approach substantially the vote polled? Obviously a strong organization is required to enforce the decree of the ballot. If the political organization is, from its very nature, bound to be far below the voting strength, what organization is available other than the economic organization?

L. P. Y. MILWAUKEE, WIS.—No, no! The Union is not the kindergarten for the political party. Such is the "intellectual's" theory, and what the "intellectual" does not know of the Labor Movement would fill whole libraries. The Union is the drilling ground for the discipline requisite to assume the administration of the Nation's industries, that is, the Nation's government. No kindergarten work in that.

M. N. MYSTIC, IA.—The Movement in America has now all the abstract Socialism or theory that it can want. What it is in dire need of is the practical knowledge to utilize that theory. That practical knowledge the "intellectual" is too lofty to stoop to handle.

L. H. NEW ALBANY, IND.—The S. T. & L. A. saved, not the S. L. P. only, it saved the American Movement. That it saved the S. L. P. is obvious—the Party organization, literature and press are solid, all external commotions notwithstanding, while the S. P. built upon "neutrality" on Unionism is admittedly in hot water on the subject. But for the S. T. & L. A. the S. L. P. would now be in the fix the S. P. now is in. The American Movement would now have had to begin all over again.

J. A. B. NEW YORK—Good man, let's tell you a story. Once upon a time a great Queen reigned in England. Her name was Elizabeth. She was called the "Maiden Queen." Many were the aspirants for her hand, among them British noblemen, among these Sir Walter Raleigh. One day he traced with the diamond on his ring this inscription on Elizabeth's window-pane:

"Fain would I climb, but I fear to fall." The talented Queen completed the distich by tracing with the diamond on her ring the following line below:

"If thy heart fail thee, do not climb at all."

The S. L. P. and the I. W. W. are no child's play. They have their faces set to a man's task. It means struggle to the knife, aye, and from the knife to the hilt. If thy heart fail thee, do not climb at all.

P. K. KANSAS CITY, MO.—Sorry, cannot help you. Have neither seen, nor know of, any English translation of Camoes' "Lusiads" or Goethe's "Oestlicher Divan." Probably there are English translations of both.

J. McT., CLEVELAND, O.—Of all uninformative people the American capitalist is the worst informed. While, in Russia, lack of general information is due to the censorship imposed by the Tsar upon the people, here in America the capitalist's lack of information is due to the censorship that he imposes upon himself. He won't let his papers post him on the Labor Movement.

S. H. M. DETROIT, MICH.—First—The conferences that are being held between a committee of the S. L. P. of New Jersey and a committee of the S. P. of the same State were brought about by an invitation from the S. P. to which the S. L. P. acceded. The correspondence on the subject was published in full in these columns. Shall be reproduced later on.

Second—The second conference was held last December 31. The minutes of that conference will not be given for publication until adopted at the next conference, which will be held on the 21st of this month. So soon as adopted and forwarded to this office, they will be published, the same as were the minutes of the first conference.

Third—The minutes of the first conference were adopted at the second (December 31) and were sent to The People and "The Worker," together with the rest of the Socialist press for publication.

Fourth—The Volkszeitung Corporation perseveres in the policy, which its private ownership enables it to carry out with impunity, of keeping its party-membership in ignorance and of even deceiving them by forgeries. Two issues of "The Worker" have appeared since the minutes of the first New Jersey conference were sent to it for publication by its own party members. It suppressed publication of the same; while the "Volkszeitung" mutilated the minutes, and committed the forgery of publishing the mutilation over the signatures of the two secretaries.

H. H. S. HARCOFT, N. B.—The People contains so little news from the Canadian S. L. P. because only that little is sent to The People from Canada.

J. C. EASTLEIGH, ENG.—First—Matter received, and read with profit.

Second—The work of the S. L. P. in Great Britain is not a foolhardy game, however arduous a task. On the continent such a game would be foolhardy.

Third—It is the wage slave's duty to keep himself in condition to fight the capitalist.

F. J. OXFORD, ENG.—Is the Mother Goose rhyme about Little Bo Peep familiar in England? Don't bother about soreheads. Treat them as Bo Peep's lost sheep—Just let them alone and they'll come home.

Bringing their tails behind them.

T. B. WORCESTER, MASS.—There was a conference between Sherman, the President of the I. W. W., and A. F. of L. capmakers' leaders, when Sherman was here lately. Sherman cornered the fakirs. He made them admit that they organized scabs. They squirmed but Sherman proved one too good for them.

F. B. CHICAGO, ILL.—The Cyclopaedia Britannica is the best in English for general information.

A. F. A. CINCINNATI, O.—How the Volkszeitung Corporation compares now with what it was in 1889, before the S. L. P. took it in hand?—Somewhere in the Bible there is an account of a man out of whom the devils were cast, and he seemed to be in good condition, like a house swept and garnished. Then the devils in increased numbers got into him again, and the verdict of the Bible on that man is that "last state was worse than the first."

M. B. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The theory that a Union must be what the craft Unions are—job Trusts, organized so as to keep other workmen out—or the Union is worthless, is false. Experience shows that it is the craft Union that is worthless. There is a

(Continued on page six.)

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
 Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New
 Read Street, New York.
S. L. P. OF CANADA.
 National Secretary, 361 Richmond st.,
 London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
 2-6 New Read Street, New York City
 (The Party's literary agency.)
 Notice—For technical reasons no party
 announcements can go in that are not
 in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. Y. S. E. C.

Meeting of January 12, at headquar-
 ters, Daily People Building, 2-6 New
 Read Street, New York. Kuhn, Pearson
 and Lechner absent. Minutes of
 previous meeting approved.
 Communications:—Vote on member
 N. E. C., from Sections Chatsanga, Mon-
 roe, Erie, Westchester, Kings and New
 York Counties. Secretary submitted
 abatement of vote as follows: Kinneally,
 141; Pearson, 27; Augustine, 17; Jacob-
 son, 15; Hawk, 14. Accepted. From
 Section Erie, list of officers and commit-
 tees elected for ensuing term. From
 Section New York, requesting replace-
 ment of fifteen lost due stamps. Re-
 ferred to N. E. C. From Schenectady,
 request for January 22 speaker. At-
 tended to by Secretary. From Kras-
 berg, Schenectady, donations. Will ap-
 pear in full in January financial report.
 From Chatsanga, on nomination blanks.
 Attended to by Secretary. From Bing-
 hamton, on Gillhaus' work there. Filed.
 Correspondence Bureau reports on
 three months' work. Gradually extend-
 ing connections. Received.

Secretary was requested to urge sec-
 tions to secure notaryships before pres-
 ent legislative adjourns.

Financial report for December was
 adopted as follows:
 Receipts:—By due stamps, \$75.84; by
 mileage fund, \$18.96; by State Agitation
 as follows: M. Speich, Syracuse, 25c.;
 26th A. D., N. Y., 50c.; Geo. H. Beutel,
 Brooklyn, \$1; S. Rubin, Brooklyn, \$1,
 \$2.75; Party Name Defense Fund as
 follows:—Holger Schmalz, Pittsfield,
 Mass., \$1; S. B. Cowles, Sand Lake,
 Mich., \$2; Jas. P. Morris, New York,
 \$2.80; John Lindgren, Brooklyn, 50c.;
 Omaha, Neb.—R. S., 50c.; A. Friend,
 50c.; Aug. Beerman, 50c.; G. Renner,
 Jacksonville, Ill., \$1; Section New York
 Co., bal. on hand, \$5.50, \$16.30; total,
 \$113.85.

Expenditures:—To 1,000 dues stamps,
 \$2.00; to supplies, Correspondence Bu-
 reau, \$2; to postage and sundries,
 \$2.50; total, \$7.33; balance, \$40.50;
 total, \$113.85.

Secretary was instructed to call on
 Section New York to audit books.
 Meeting adjourned.

J. Ebert, Secretary.

PACIFIC COAST AGITATION.

California Takes the Lead in its Pro-
 motion—The Plan.

To the Revolutionary Organizations
 of Labor on the Pacific Coast. Fellow
 Workers:—The suggestion has been
 made to the California State Executive
 Committee of the Socialist Labor Party
 to take the lead in the formation of a
 permanent agitation circuit to be com-
 posed of the states of Washington,
 Oregon, California and the territory of
 Arizona. The essence of the sugges-
 tion is to the effect that within the area
 mentioned, an organizer (or more than
 one if funds permit) be kept continuously
 on the road, agitating and organizing
 for both the S. L. P. and for the I. W. W.,
 to disseminate revolutionary literature
 and to solicit for the press of the
 S. L. P. and that of the I. W. W.

In order to make possible this work
 and to insure its uninterrupted progress,
 funds are required and these would have
 to be raised by the organizations and
 individuals interested in it and located
 within the area named. It would be
 unwise wholly to rely upon intermittent,
 unorganized support; it is necessary to
 have a measure at least, definite as to
 what funds can be expected to sustain
 the work and then map out the plans
 accordingly.

You are therefore called upon to state,
 on the enclosed report blank, what sum
 you can regularly contribute each and
 every month, thus enabling us to cast
 up the field, and to send such report,
 properly signed, to the address given be-
 low. Individual pledges are also so-
 licited.

Never before was the time so propitious
 for active work along the lines indi-
 cated. The world over the working class
 is awakening, stretching its mighty
 limbs, and, more or less consciously
 getting in the mood to grapple with the
 capitalist exploiter. It is our mission
 to give direction, method, purpose and
 intelligent understanding to the efforts
 and struggles of labor's forces and to
 make them a measure at least, definite as to
 what funds can be expected to sustain
 the work and then map out the plans
 accordingly.

As compared with the enormous sacrifices
 in blood and treasure now made by the
 working class of Russia. America must
 not lag behind. Let us see to it that
 it does not.

Awaiting your speedy action and re-
 port, we are, fraternally yours,
 The California State Executive Com-
 mittee, Socialist Labor Party.
 Address: Louis C. Haller, Secretary,
 205 1-2 So. Main Street, Los Angeles,
 Cal.

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

(Continued from page 4.)

diligently, and work them more moder-
 ately—

B. J.—Some more of your nonsense.
 The South couldn't do that either. If a
 planter began that game, he would find
 himself bankrupt in short order. He
 couldn't keep up with the competition
 of his fellow planters, all anxious to get
 ahead of him on the market, and his
 business would have gone to smash.

U. S.—But the robbery—the arms to
 sustain it—

B. J.—Won't you ever see? The South
 couldn't and wouldn't free its slaves.
 The freeing had to be done. The North
 freed them, and was compelled to re-
 sort to arms to enforce the decree of its
 President. It had to be.

U. S.—Had to be? Why?

B. J.—Because slavery was a crime.
 Because it denied the Declaration of Inde-
 pendence, which was grounded on the
 equality of man. Because it was a sin
 in the eyes of God for one man to own
 another. Because slavery was a pitfall
 in the path of civilization and human
 progress. Because the Christian ideal
 could not be realized while it existed.
 Because slavery—

U. S.—That will do. What has be-
 come of your position that property hon-
 estly acquired must be held sacred, and
 improper use of it curbed by law?

B. J. (looking around for his position)
 —Torn to shreds. I must confess.

U. S.—Yes Jonathan, ripped through
 and through, as will be all hasty defences
 thrown up to withstand the heavy guns
 of Socialism. In the light of the fact
 that more than four million families, or
 nearly one third of the nation, must get
 along on incomes of less than \$400, can
 you deny that the working class of
 America to-day is in a condition materi-
 ally as bad if not worse, than that of
 the chattel slave?

B. J.—No.
 U. S.—In view of the increased cost
 of living and the intensification of labor
 now going on, can you deny that their
 condition is steadily growing worse?

B. J.—No, I cannot.

U. S.—In the light of both these facts
 together—

B. J.—Something must be done about
 it, and done quick.

U. S.—By curbing the capitalists by
 law?

B. J.—Well—
 U. S.—No, Jonathan, curbing by law
 will not stand. Just as the slaveholder
 was fettered by his material interests
 and could not free or even ameliorate
 the condition of his slaves, the capitalist
 can not give up his mines and factories,
 or improve the lot of his workmen. As
 long as wage slavery stands, the fate of
 the wage slave must grow ever worse.
 Just as the plantation lord was forced
 to maltreat the chattel slave who was
 his through feudal right, in order to keep
 his own head above water, so the fac-
 tory lord is compelled for the same rea-
 son, to maltreat the wage slave, who be-
 comes a slave by reason of the master's
 ownership of property which the slave
 needs in order to live. All that you have
 said about slavery being un-Christian and
 a sin in the eyes of God can be ap-
 plied with tripled and quadrupled force
 to the present industrial system. It also
 will have to go. "Getting together" and
 compromising will prove just as devoid
 of help for the wage slave as they did
 for the chattel slave. The working class
 of the land is fast waking up to this fact,
 and by organizing in the Industrial
 Workers of the World and the Socialist
 Labor Party, is drilling itself to take
 possession of the means of production
 and distribution, and run them for the
 benefit of the whole people, and not of
 the parasites. And if the parasites dare
 to oppose armed force to the will of the
 people, (which, as they are a coward
 class, they probably won't do), force on
 the part of the people will then become
 every whit as justifiable—if not more
 so—as it did for the Abolitionists.

B. J.—So it will; and may I be there
 to help!

LETTER BOX.

(Continued from page five.)

strict parallel between that theory and
 the other theory that the workingman
 should vote free trade or protection,
 as the case may be, so that his employer
 be not driven out of business, and he
 (the workingman) does not lose his job.
 This theory also is plausible, as plausible
 as the craft Union theory about the re-
 quirements of Unionism, and on the

JANUARY 22, 1906

LEADING CITIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY READY TO TAKE PART IN WORLD-WIDE DEMONSTRATION IN COMMEMORATION OF "BLOODY SUNDAY" AND IN AID OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

Pursuant to the call of the Interna-
 tional Socialist Bureau at Brussels, Bel-
 gium, the leading cities throughout the
 country have made all arrangements
 to take part in the world-wide demon-
 stration, in commemoration of Bloody
 Sunday and in aid of the Russian revolu-
 tionists.

In New York, the second conference to
 arrange for the monster demonstration
 to be held at Grand Central Palace,
 Lexington Avenue, between 43rd and
 44th streets, on Monday, January 22,
 8 p. m. was held last Sunday at Man-
 hattan Lyceum Annex, 15 East Third
 Street. William Woodhouse was elected
 chairman, H. Traurig, vice chairman, and
 Leon Pilout, secretary.

In addition to the 70 delegates repre-
 senting 30 organizations, admitted at
 the first conference, new delegates
 were seated representing the fol-
 lowing organizations, hitherto un-
 represented: Scandinavian Branch, S.
 L. P.; 28th A. D., S. L. P.; Tailors' In-
 dustrial Union 59, I. W. W.; Industrial
 Workers' Union 206; 34th A. D.; 11th
 and 13th A. D.; 30th A. D.; and 20th
 A. D., S. L. P.; Karl Marx Club; Rus-
 sian Socialist Revolutionary Party.

The list of speakers so far arranged
 for the evening is: DeLeon in English;
 Reinstein in Russian; Schlossberg in
 Jewish; Basky in Hungarian, and Della-
 via in Italian. It was further decided
 to have as a speaker a member of the
 Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party,
 to speak in whatever language he might
 choose.

The committee reported having sent
 out invitations to various S. D. P. and
 progressive labor unions to participate
 More will be sent out in the coming week.

The Musicians' Local reported that
 they would furnish the music free, pay-
 ing the musicians out of their own treas-
 ury.

The Scandinavian Branch reported
 that many of their members intended to
 donate a day's wages, and others, as
 much as they could, towards defraying
 the expenses of the demonstration.

So far the various organizations have
 donated sums amounting to \$26. The
 organizer was instructed to send out
 letters to the different organizations
 urging them to make immediate contri-
 butions. It is desired to have the full
 amount of the expenses previous to the
 demonstration, so that all moneys col-
 lected on the occasion can be applied
 directly to the aid of the Russian Revolu-
 tionists.

A committee of seventeen volunteered
 to assist in taking up the collection. It
 was decided to secure as many ladies to
 serve on the committee as could be
 gotten.

A committee was elected to visit all
 the Jewish papers, to interview the edi-
 tors, and have them, if possible, adver-
 tise the demonstration.

Organizations having banners were re-
 quested to bring them to the office of L.
 Abelson, or else to have them at Grand
 Central Palace by 6.30 at the latest, on
 the night of the meeting.

The collection to defray the expenses
 of the conference amounted to \$21.8, and
 the body then adjourned to meet Sat-
 urday, January 20, at 8 p. m.

Other large cities will hold demon-
 strations as follows:
 Buffalo, N. Y.—At Lyceum Theatre,
 Washington Street near Broadway, Sun-
 day afternoon, Jan. 21, at 2.30 o'clock,
 under the auspices of the Industrial
 Workers of the World, Socialist Labor
 Party, Socialist Party and the Jewish
 Socialist organization, The Bund. Speak-
 ers, Thomas Jackson, I. W. W. of Buf-

identical ground—the advantage of the
 immediate present. Experience teaches
 in both instances that even the advan-
 tage of the immediate present usually
 fails to materialize, and that, when it
 does materialize, it is a case of Esau's
 selling his birth-right for a mess of
 pottage—infinity more being lost in the
 end.

R. C. CUMBERLAND, B. C.—
 Spread S. L. P. and I. W. W. literature
 broadcast in your neighborhood. Noth-
 ing like it for a "Rough on Rats." One
 man can reach only a few ears. The press
 can reach millions of eyes. Spread S.
 L. P. literature—beginning with the
 Weekly People.

L. M. G. HAMILTON, CANADA—
 First—Peter Krapotkin and Prince
 Krapotkin are the same person. We are
 not aware he ever claimed to be a So-
 cialist.

Second—We never heard Keir Hardie,
 when he was in the United States, say,
 nor did we ever read in any New York,
 or other paper, that he said: "Five dol-
 lars per week and faith in Jesus Christ
 is enough for any workingman." We
 don't believe he ever made any such
 statement.

C. R., NEW YORK—Correctly

falo; Philip Jackson, S. P. of Rochester;
 Boris Reinstein, S. L. P. of Buffalo, in
 English; and Robert Steiner, in German;
 probably also a Jewish representative
 will be heard.

Cincinnati, O.—At Workman's Hall,
 Monday, January 22, under the auspices
 of the Industrial Workers of the World,
 the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist
 Party.

Chicago, Ill.—At Aurora Hall, Mon-
 day, January 22, under the auspices of
 the Industrial Council of Chicago. Speak-
 ers in Russian, English, and other on-
 gues, will address the audience.

Detroit, Mich.—At Arbeiter Hall, Sun-
 day, Jan. 21, 2.30 p. m., under I. W.
 W. and S. L. P. auspices. Speakers in
 English, German, Russian and Jewish.

Elizabeth, N. J.—At Saenger Hall, 4th
 Street and Elizabeth Avenue, Sunday,
 Jan. 21, 7.30 p. m., under the auspices
 of the Socialist Labor Party and the
 Socialist Party. Speakers, Chas. H. Chase
 of New York, George H. Headley of
 Kearney, N. J., and others.

Kansas City, Mo.—At Warwick Hall,
 Eight and Oak streets, on Sunday after-
 noon Jan. 21, under the auspices of the
 Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party,
 Workmen's Circle, Progressive Educa-
 tional Club, Mixed Local No. 8, and
 Metal Workers No. 12, I. W. W. There
 will be music, singing and speaking.

Milwaukee, Wis.—At Bahnhof Turn
 Hall, 12th and North Ave., Monday, Jan.
 22, 8 p. m., under the auspices of the
 Socialist Labor Party. Speakers in Hun-
 garian, German and English.

Newark, N. J.—At New Progress Hall,
 21 Barclay Street, Monday, Jan. 22, 7.30
 p. m., under the auspices of the Socialist
 Labor Party. Speakers, Ernest T. Out-
 ley of New Haven, Conn., and James
 Connolly, Newark, N. J., in English;
 Harry Dobynski of New York City, in
 Jewish.

New Haven, Conn.—At Music Hall,
 Court Street, Sunday afternoon, Jan. 21,
 at 3 o'clock, under the auspices of the
 Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist
 Party. Speakers, Daniel De Leon, James
 T. Hunter, Chas. Mercer, all of the S. L.
 P., the former two of New York City
 and the latter of New Haven; and H.
 Leidler, S. L. P. of Middleton.

St. Louis, Mo.—At Lightstone's Hall,
 S. E. corner 11th Street and Franklin
 Ave., Sunday, Jan. 21, at 2 p. m., under
 the auspices of the I. W. W. Industrial
 Council. Speakers, Chas. F. Moyer, Pres-
 ident of the Western Federation of
 Miners, and Wm. W. Cox, organizer I.
 W. W. in English; and Carl Nold in
 German. Kate Roack will recite Fri-
 elgrath's "Revolution," and a local I. W.
 W. band will furnish music for the oc-
 casion.

Meetings will also be held in Pat-
 erson, N. J., Cleveland, O., Newburgh,
 Schenectady, Yonkers and Rochester, N.
 Y. They will be advertised locally.

All that remains now is to make the
 above meetings a success. Let all the
 readers of The People, together with
 their friends and shopmates turn out
 en masse, and in conjunction with the
 working class of the world make "Red
 Sunday" such a memorable day that
 the oppressing classes of the world will
 hesitate before they again cause its re-
 petition.

Workingmen of all countries unite;
 you have only your chains to lose and
 a world to gain!

LETTERS AND DONATIONS.

The Daily and Weekly People con-
 tinue to receive many letters and don-
 ations on and for the Russian revolu-
 tionists. Lack of space compels the ex-
 clusion of the former; the latter will be
 found acknowledged on Page III.

guessed. That passage in the editorial
 "Pure and Simple" was bungled by
 compositors and proof-reader. The
 name of the Trades Union party in
 Great Britain is "Labor Representation
 Committee"; "Labor Party" is the name
 of the Australian Trades Union political
 reflex. In the sentence third paragraph,
 15th line: "Accordingly, in Great Britain,
 under the name and style of 'Labor
 Party' these Trades Unions enter the
 political field," two lines were dropped.
 It should read: "Accordingly, in Great
 Britain, under the name and style of
 'Labor Representation Committee,' in
 Australia, under the name and style of
 'Labor Party,' these Trades Unions enter
 the political field," etc. The correction
 will be made in the Weekly.

G. M. S. PROVIDENCE, R. I.; D.
 E., ST. LOUIS, MO.; A. H. B. K.,
 NEW YORK; W. H., PITTSBURG,
 PA.; E. C. C. PERKINSVILLE, VT.;
 I. K. ANACONDA, MONT.; S. L. P.,
 SPOKANE, WASH.; E. A. D., DAL-
 LAS, TEX.; C. R. KANSAS CITY,
 MO.; A. S. N. PUEBLO, COLO.; S.
 L. P., LAWRENCE, MASS.; S. A. W.,
 BATON ROUGE, LA.; W. P. L.,
 MONTREAL, CANADA; J. M. R.,
 TORONTO, CANADA—Matter re-

I W W MASS MEETING

OF PITTSBURG STOGIE MAKERS A GREAT ALL-AROUND SUCCESS.

800 Workingmen and Women Hear Gil-
 haus and Veal Expose the A. F. of L.
 and Expound True Unionism—A. F. of
 L. Hedging On Feb. 15 Debate.

(Special Correspondence.)

Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 9.—Stogie Makers'
 Local 200, I. W. W., held a mass meeting
 at Old City Hall last Saturday after-
 noon, and it was a success in every par-
 ticular. About 800 workingmen and wo-
 men, and, as far as is known, one "labor
 leader," with the omnipresent diamond
 scarf-pin and diamond ring, were pres-
 ent. It might be well to state here that
 the labor leader (?) took him dressing
 down without a murmur, and hadn't the
 nerve to say anything for himself or his
 union when questions or remarks were
 called for.

The meeting was called to order by E.
 R. Markley, who, after a few remarks,
 introduced August Gillhaus. Gillhaus
 made a characteristic I. W. W. address,
 which was listened to with close atten-
 tion by the audience, while he laid bare
 the false character of that so-called
 labor movement, the A. F. of L. Gill-
 haus was applauded repeatedly as he
 showed up the impotent and treacherous
 make-up of that tail to the Physic Fed-
 eration kite.

Questions or remarks were called for,
 but none being forthcoming Philip Veal
 was introduced and went on to elaborate
 on the working class economic organi-
 zation—the I. W. W.

Veal dwelt on the revolutionary char-
 acter of the labor movement, and the
 necessity of the complete overthrow of
 capitalism as enunciated in the Preamble
 of the I. W. W., and held the audience
 till late in the afternoon, when 't ad-
 journed with three cheers for the I. W.
 W.

Eighty-three pamphlets were sold and
 a lot of literature distributed.

A machinists' local of the I. W. W.
 was organized Monday evening at Brad-
 dock and charter applied for. We will
 now be ready for O'Connell and his
 bunch of thugs when he comes to "or-
 ganize" for the I. A. of M. in the Pitts-
 burg district.

There seems to be a tendency to hedge
 on the part of the A. F. of L. in regard
 to the debate on February 15, between
 the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. and
 some are now asking: "Will they show
 up?" But whether they do or not the
 hall has been secured for that night, and
 the A. F. of L. will get what is coming
 to them.

As a sample of the A. F. of L. method
 of doing business, T. H. Flynn, national
 organizer, at the meeting in Weber's
 Hall, Thursday, December 15, said he
 had hired that same hall for the next
 Monday night and he would reply to
 the flaying he had just received from the
 I. W. W., but when Monday night came,
 and the I. W. W. was on hand, the hall
 was dark and locked, and Flynn nowhere
 in sight; in fact, he didn't show up.

The I. W. W. representatives are not
 losing any sleep over the debate, having
 the agreement with the signature of the
 A. F. of L. representative attached there-
 to in hand; and whatever happens, there
 will be doings in Old City Hall February
 15, 1906.

I. W. W. SECURES INCREASE.

Wages Raised and Overtime Abolished
 In General Electric Works.

Schenectady, N. Y., Jan. 9.—I send by
 mail a copy of to-day's "Daily Gazette,"
 which brings proof that the A. F. of L.
 not only causes one craft to scab it upon
 another, but men of the same craft be-
 longing to the same organization. The
 "Gazette" bears the "union" label of the
 Typographical Union, and in its pages
 there is a big advertisement of the But-
 terick Company, advertising for scab
 printers. The scabby crew of local types
 led by the grafters, Dennis Mahan and
 John Onig, are stabbing in the back their
 own brothers of "Big Six." These scabs
 were the ones who were chiefly the cause
 for the I. W. W. men being fired out of
 the Trades Assembly; and we are only
 too proud that such a crew could not
 stand the presence of men that are fight-
 ing the battles of labor.

Ever since we are out of the Trades
 Assembly, we are forging ahead with
 great strides. Some of the unions that
 were arrayed against the I. W. W. in
 the Trades Assembly are considering
 withdrawal from the A. F. of L. and
 joining the I. W. W. At the last meet-
 ing of Local 34, I. W. W., 115 new mem-
 bers were admitted. Local 26 also took
 in about thirty new members at its last
 meeting. We are making inroads at the
 American Locomotive Works, which the
 A. F. of L. was never able to organize.
 Toolmakers employed in the Turbine
 Department of the General Electric Com-
 pany gained a substantial increase
 through the I. W. W. Increases in wages
 are also gained by other departments

READ THE "SOCIALIST"

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 Read Street, New York.

which are organized in the I. W. W.
 Some of the A. F. of L. fakirs in their
 impotent rage, hint that the I. W. W.
 men are favored by the company, and
 are hand in hand with it; that's why
 they were able to get increases. In other
 shops the I. W. W. men abolished the
 overtime work, thus causing the em-
 ployment of unemployed, who would
 otherwise compete with them in the
 labor market and help to reduce the
 standard of living.

THEY CLUTCHED THE MONEY.

[From the January "Industrial Work-
 er"]

The visit of Eugene V. Debs to New
 York in the interest of the Industrial
 Workers of the World, developed the
 fact that the labor lieutenants of cap-
 italism in the American Federation of
 Labor have some very servile imitators
 and assistants in the office of the New
 York Volkszeitung. It appears that
 Brother Charles Volimers, who person-
 ally vouches for the facts herein stated,
 that he delivered at the said newspaper
 office one of the posters advertising the
 Debs meetings. He requested that the
 poster be hung up in a prominent place,
 so that it might be seen by the public.
 It was accepted with the promise that
 such disposition would be made of it.
 Having occasion to pass that way on two
 consecutive days following, he looked
 for, but could not find, the poster. When,
 on the second day, he inquired what had
 become of it, he was assured that "it was
 hanging up yesterday." When he in-
 sisted that the poster had not been in
 sight during the two days, he received
 the reply that it had not been hung up
 because it bore "no union label."

Now this poster bore the Universal
 Label of the Industrial Workers of the
 World, which in the minds of the rev-
 olutionary working class supersedes the
 label of pure and simple unionism. We
 understand that the Industrial Workers
 of the World committee of arrangements
 for the New York meetings had to pay
 something like \$22 for a small space
 advertising the meetings in the news-
 papers that issue from the Williams
 street establishment. Thus it appears
 that while the New York Volkszeitung
 and Worker refused to display the In-
 dustrial Workers of the World poster,